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JAARBERICHT

VAN HET VOORAZIATISCH-EGYPTISCH GENOOTSCHAP

EX ORIENTE LUX

ANNUAIRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ
ORIENTALE "EX ORIENTE LUX"

No. 18
(1964)



LEIDEN
1965

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Secrétariat et bibliothèque: Noordeindsplein 4a, Leiden. Tél. 01710 — 23682; C.C.P. (Postrekening) No. 229501; Banque: Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank, N.V., Leiden.

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JAARBERICHT

VAN HET VOORAZIATISCH-EGYPTISCH GENOOTSCHAP

EX ORIENTE LUX

GEVESTIGD TE LEIDEN

OPGERICHT 22 MEI 1933

ANNUAIRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ORIENTALE EX ORIENTE LUX

Publié sous la direction du Comité de la Société „Ex Oriente Lux”
Secrétaire de la rédaction: K. R. VEENHOF

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

HYMNICAL SAYINGS, ADDRESSED TO THE SUN-GOD BY THE HIGH-PRIEST OF AMŪN NEBWENENEF, FROM HIS TOMB IN THEBES

In JEOL 16 (1959-1962), p. 66, we mentioned the hymn to the sun-god from the tomb of Nebwenenef (Theban Tomb no. 157). On that occasion, no translation was given, as we did not have the entire text at our disposal at the time. Through the kind offices of Dr. W. F. REINEKE, who supervises the Berlin vocabulary references, we were able to acquaint ourselves with the inscription, and we must express our gratitude for the help he gave us.

The quotation from the bibliography of PORTER-MOSS, which we used in JEOL 16, mentions concerning the entrance of the tomb, "Left thickness, deceased adoring and hymn to Rē¹) with four jackals, souls of Pe and Nekhen, and baboons". The hymn goes as follows, "The high-priest of Amūn, Nebwenenef, adores Rē² after he has illuminated²) the lands. I satisfy him daily (or, 'I cause him to rejoice'). I sing songs of praise as the baboons (which jubilate at sunrise)³). < I > honour him as the souls of Buto⁴) and of Hieraconpolis⁵)".

Probably the owner of the tomb has been portrayed as an outgoing figure, praising the sun when it is rising in the eastern horizon. The reliefs illustrate the opening lines of the prayer, in which the souls of Pe and Nekhen and the baboons, who are the usual company of worshippers of the rising sun, are mentioned⁶). DERCHAIN refers to the great hymn of Hibis⁷), "Thine two daughters, thine two Meret-goddesses, glorify thee, when thou spreadest thy splendour early in the morning and encirclest the two lands (Egypt) with thy light, and when thou leanest on this mountain of the realm of the dead (i.e. at dawn and at sunset). The dwellers of the underworld radiate, when thine rays *are beautiful* (?). The group of jackals receive thee, they draw < thee > in thy bark through the mysterious mountain (i.e. the underworld). The baboons

¹) The text has been translated from WBZ 1112; WBZ = Wörterbuchzettel.

²) Erleuchten, erhellen; *wbg*, transitive; *Wb.* (= *Wörterbuch*) I 296.15.; *Dend.* (DÜM. Res. 50); *Edfu* I 379; Theban Tomb no. 157. 1112 has been quoted Belegstellen, Plate 35 unpublished texts; see also CHAMP. *Not. Descr.* I 851.

³) *Htt*, PH. DERCHAIN, CdEg no. 37, pp. 261, 265.

⁴) *Wb.* I 489.12; see also PH. DERCHAIN op. cit.

⁵) *Wb.* II 310.

⁶) See PH. DERCHAIN, CdEg no. 37 pp. 260-265. He describes similar representations from the temple of Psammētichus I (664-610) at El Kab.

⁷) H. BRUGSCH, *Grosse Oase*, 1878, Pl. XXV, line 8 sqq.

and the souls of the East adore thee. They give praise to thee on account of the rays of thy disk. The souls of Buto and Hieraconpolis exult thee. The brilliance of thy splendour is in their faces. Thou passest through thine two heavens without thine enemies being present." The souls of Buto and Hieraconpolis were kings of prehistoric capitals, whom people heroworshipped. They were supposed to introduce the new ruler into his palace ¹⁾, and were considered to be sons of Horus. They frequently occur in Theban tombs among the worshippers of the sun ²⁾. Nebwenenef joins them, when they are greeting the sun early in the morning.

A communication of Dr. REINEKE says that the lines of WBZ 1113-1129 do not continue the laudatory words directed to the sun-god, but describe the election of Nebwenenef as a high-priest of Thebes. SETHE has dealt with this portion of the inscription ³⁾. The election took place during the first year of the reign of Ramessēs II in the third month of the inundation season (1301 or 1290 B.C.). The king sailed upstream to Thebes in order to celebrate the feast of Ope. At that occasion the god was carried in state in his ceremonial boat from Karnak to Luxor, the harem of Amūn, in his form of the fertility god Mīn. After the feast was over, the king, on his return journey, stopped at Abydos in the Thinite nome in order to appoint Nebwenenef as a high-priest of Amūn. This man must have been an important person for he was earlier a high-priest of Onūris at Thinis and of Hāthōr at Dendera ⁴⁾. The oracle of the god had pointed out Nebwenenef as the new official. The king says, "I recited before him (Amūn) the entire circle of courtiers . . . He was not satisfied with any of them except when I said to him your (Nebwenenef's) name." The oracle was probably given in the usual way, by the cult-statue of Amūn being taken out of its sanctuary, which was the central one of the seven sanctuaries, which were dedicated to different gods in the great temple of Sethōs I in Abydos. The processional bark, in which the statue was placed, was carried on the shoulders of priests. When the names of the dignitaries were called, the statue of the god moved forward only at the name of Nebwenenef. Thus there was confirmation of the king's appointment, by the gods; their divine will actually being one and the same. Some laudatory passages follow, which are addressed to the god and the king by all the courtiers.

Also Nebwenenef himself recites hymns which are probably directed to the gods of Abydos. In the *Wörterbuch* copies, we find first of all some epithets of Osiris. Then a hymn to the sun-god follows.

¹⁾ H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der Äg. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 129.

²⁾ PH. DERCHAIN, op. cit., p. 263.

³⁾ Z.Ä.S. no. 44, p. 30 sqq., *Die Berufung eines Hohenpriesters des Amon unter Ramesses II.*

⁴⁾ A. H. GARDINER, *Egypt of the Pharaoh's*, Oxford, 1961, p. 257 sq.

WBZ 1129. "[Hail to thee, Amūn-Rē], who moulded his body, who gave birth to himself, Khopri, who came into existence, being alone, sole god, who makes himself into millions".

The sun-god came into existence by his own spontaneous energy. Having created himself, he was dependent on no one. He is the ultimate unconditional Power, the ground of his own existence. The verb "to mould" was originally used for the melting and casting of metals ¹⁾, later it is also applied to the activity of the creator of the world. As the ultimate origin of everything, this one "creates himself" ²⁾. The *Wörterbuch* mentions the expression "*nbj h'w* = den Leib schaffen" ³⁾. "His own body" is a circumscription of the reflexive pronoun. It is said of the primeval god in nearly the same wording as in our passage, "Thou art Ptaḥ (the creator god of Memphis), thou mouldedst thy body (= thyself), giving birth, not being born thyself" ⁴⁾. "He who moulded his own egg" ⁵⁾, i.e. who made the possibility of his own existence. "Thou mouldedst thy body; the one who gives birth to himself, who was not born like Rē' (was not born)" ⁶⁾. At his birth he is Khopri, the sun in its first phase, rising from the eastern horizon. He is alone in the beginning, no other god being with him, on whom he could be dependent. "The sole one, who was in the beginning, primeval one, whose equal does not exist" ⁷⁾. "He was alone, when he rose from the waters" ⁸⁾. "Who originated in the beginning, the sole one, whom no other equals, who originated spontaneously, who moulded in the beginning. He is the mother who made his body, the absolutely unique, who made the gods, the creator, who indeed was not created" ⁹⁾. Khopri (the name of the god) and the verb *hpr* (to originate) form a pun. This occurs frequently, e.g. in the *Pyramid Texts*¹⁰⁾, "Hail to thee Khopri, who originated by himself. Thou didst originate in this thy name of Khopri".

All beings, which exist in infinite number, originated from the sun-god: Gods, men and the rest of the creation. The texts say, that he created millions, or, that he made himself into millions. "Absolutely unique, whose Being is equal to millions (of beings)"¹¹⁾. "He rises as a unique one, he has created

¹⁾ *Wb.* II 241 and p. 236. 7-9.

²⁾ *Nbj sw ḡs.f.*, *Wb.* II 241.24; *Pap. Nsikhons* I 10; *Leiden* I 350 IV 2.

³⁾ *Wb.* II 241.25.

⁴⁾ Hymn of the two architects, A. DE BUCK, *Leesboek*, 58. 10-11; A. VARILLE, *L'hymne au soleil des architectes d'Aménophis III Souti et Hor*, BIFAO XLI, 1942, pp. 26 and 28, line 3.

⁵⁾ *Leiden* I 350 IV 10-11.

⁶⁾ *Book of the Dead*, Chapter XV 26, ed. BUDGE, 1898, p. 42. 11-12.

⁷⁾ *Urk.* IV 1217. 8-9.

⁸⁾ Rec. de Trav. I, p. 89 sqq., E. LEDRAIN, *Le Papyrus de Luynes, Hymn to the sun-god*, line 4.

⁹⁾ *Edfu* II 37.

¹⁰⁾ *Par.* 1587.

¹¹⁾ *Leiden* I 344 Reverse III 3.

millions; they all come forth from thy body" ¹⁾. "This sole one, who made himself into millions of gods, which were created as (parts of) his body" ²⁾. "The sole one, he made himself into millions" ³⁾. Cf. Nebwenenef, Theban Tomb 157, WBZ 1169, "who gave birth to himself as millions of beings". "Who comes alone, he counts himself as a million" ⁴⁾. "Million of millions is his name" ⁵⁾.

WBZ 1130. "[I am one] who is correct and righteous. I have not been biased ⁶⁾. I have not cast in my lot with the evildoer ⁷⁾, because I know that Righteousness (as a female deity) ascends unto you, and because I understand that ye live on her. May ye grant, that my name endures in the future ⁸⁾ at Karnak".

This is a personal declaration of righteousness, a confession similar to that in the *Book of the Dead*, chapter 125. Nebwenenef declares himself to be in harmony with the cosmic order, of which the essence is righteousness (*mꜣt*). The texts often record that Righteousness (the goddess Mā'e) is either the mother or the daughter of the sun-god: He exists thanks to Mā'e, or he establishes cosmic order (= righteousness) by his regular daily course. As a matter of fact the passage is addressed to several gods, thus they may have been thinking of Osiris as well as of Rē'. Osiris as the judge of the dead also disposes of Mā'e. It is often said, especially of Rē', that "he lives upon mā'e". As a recompense for his good conduct the deceased asks that he ("his name" is his own Being) may live for eternity. A person can only live eternally through being in harmony with cosmic order.

WBZ 1131 (continuing WBZ 1129). "Atūm, when he sets in the western mountain. The next morning his rays illuminate that which he has created. Then there is adoration before his face. When he appears in the heaven, everybody is awake. May there be given to me a good lifetime, while following his *kꜣ* (i.e. him, his person)". There follows other wishes for a good fortune in the hereafter.

The text of WBZ 1129 continues here. Atūm is the sun in its last phase setting in the West, the opposite of Khopri in the morning. The classical formula of the sun in its different phases is *Pyramid Texts* Par. 1695, "They

¹⁾ *Edfu* VI 348. 7-15.

²⁾ *Edfu* III 34.

³⁾ *Hibis*, BRUGSCH, *Grosse Oase*, XV 13-14.



⁴⁾ *Theb. Tempel Gr. Zeit, Urk.* VIII. 1, SETHE-FIRCHOW, Berlin 1957, I 3b.

⁵⁾ *Theb. Tempel Gr. Zeit*, 138b.

⁶⁾ *Wb.* V 192.20; *Urk.* IV 411.1; 971.15.

⁷⁾ *Wb.* III 447.3.

⁸⁾ *Wb.* III 346.10.

(the gods) cause thee (the deceased pharaoh) to originate (*shꜣr*) as Rē' in this his name (form, aspect) of Khopri; thou art near (*i'r*) to them as Rē' in this his name of Rē'; thou disappearst (*tnm*) from their sight as Rē' in this his name of Atūm". There is a play upon words on the different names of the sun-god. *Mꜣnw* is the mountain in the West, where the sun enters the underworld. It is not only a mythical mountain, it can also be the real mountains, which border western Egypt. Equally it is a term for the realm of the dead, which according to Egyptian conceptions was in the West ¹⁾. The counterpart of *Mꜣnw* is *Bꜣh* ²⁾, the eastern mountain, where the sun rises. It is as if they form what is depicted as , looking like the hieroglyph for "horizon" *ꜣht* . Anyhow "the mountain" is the underworld into which the sun descends in the evening. In the depth of the earth the sun-god is rejuvenated in order to rise as a youth in the morning. The texts like to mention sunset and sunrise immediately one after the other, in order to stress the cyclic movement of death and resurrection. "Thou art rejuvenated in this thy name of Rē' (pun on *rnꜣj*- Rē'), when thy Majesty sets in the western mountain. Thou art awake early in the morning in order that homage may be paid to thy beauty. To day, thou enterest into this country (Egypt)" ³⁾. "Thou settest in beauty and in gladness in the horizon of *Mꜣnw*" ⁴⁾. Then the dead (in other texts the jackals) take the prowrope of the sun-boat in order to tow it through the underworld towards the East. "They take the prowrope of thy bark, when thou settest in the horizon of *Mꜣnw*" ⁵⁾. "He is Atum, when he sets in the western mountain (*Mꜣnw*), he repeats the rejuvenescence early in the morning" ⁶⁾. "Hail to thee Rē', who rises at the break of day, noble winged beetle, with splendid light, daily radiant in the eastern mountain (*Bꜣh*) setting in the western mountain (*Mꜣnw*), as the sun of every day; crossing the sky every day without him being weary, sailing to his place of yesterday" (i.e. where he rose the day before) ⁷⁾. Cf. Theban Tomb 157, Nebwenenef, WBZ 1174, "Who rises from the waters, who shines forth < from > the eastern mountain on his (usual) place, who raises himself as Khopri; Atūm, who sets in the western mountain".

Everybody awakens at sunrise, in order to adore the sun. They start to perform their daily work. "Early in the morning they adore Rē' at daybreak

¹⁾ See *Wb.* II 29.11-16.

²⁾ *Wb.* I 422.9.

³⁾ *Leiden* I 344 Reverse IX 8.

⁴⁾ *Berlin* 7317.9.

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.* line 16. The parallelism between "mountain of *Mꜣnw*" and "horizon of *Mꜣnw*" shows that *ꜣht* and mountain are equivalents.

⁶⁾ *Edfu* II 53.

⁷⁾ *Edfu* I 370.

every day" ¹⁾. "He who shines forth from the primeval ocean, who chases darkness away; all gods see by him. The gods praise him early in the morning, every day, the goddesses pay homage to him" ²⁾. "All people, who see thee, when thou appearest as Akhty (the god of the horizon), they rise early in order to praise thee" ³⁾. The passage reminds of a theme from the El Amarnah hymn, which describes how everybody awakens at sunrise and starts his work.

WBZ 1137-1168 a deal with different subjects, e.g. laudations of Osiris and Thot, the judgment of the dead, titulary of Nebwenenef, exhortations to the survivors to recite the offering formula, a harper's song, etc.

WBZ 1168 b. Here begins another inscription, starting with a lacuna, in which the name of the god, thought to be the sun-god, was probably mentioned. "Lord of [Helio]polis, who made heaven and earth, who gave birth to man, who created everything by means of his mouth (or, by means of his word, his utterance). It was said ⁴⁾ and it came into being. Who gave birth to that which is."

WBZ 1169. "The Great One, who made the gods. Who came into existence, being alone, who gave birth to himself as millions of beings. It is his limb which speaks, it is his tongue which shaped that which he made. Breath came forth from his mouth; his lips are cool . . ."

The opening words are missing, which no doubt contained one of the names of the sun-god. The epithet "Lord of [Helio]polis" can easily be restored. A parallel of this is the title "Bull of Heliopolis", "bull" being an equivalent of "lord" ⁵⁾.

The inscription then refers to the sun-god's activity as a creator. This passage is a very good example of the conception of creation, through the word of God. "His limb which speaks" should be his tongue on account of the parallelism with the next line. Also by "the breath of his mouth" his words could have been meant. When the inscriptions of the tombs say that "breath of the mouth is profitable for the deceased" ⁶⁾, they mean to express, that reciting the offering formula will help. It has been asserted that the idea of creation, through the word of God, began not in Heliopolis but in Memphis. The argument is that the stone of king Shabako (*Memorial of Memphite Theology*) mentions creation through the Divine Word, "There originated in the heart, there originated on the tongue (a thought) in the form of Atūm" ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Krön. 25.

²⁾ Edfu VI 2.1.

³⁾ Pap. Berlin P 3049 II 9.

⁴⁾ Pass. sdm.f-form, impersonal, A. H. GARDINER, *Eg. Gramm.* 2nd. ed., Par. 420.

⁵⁾ E.g. Coff. Texts VII 475 g; Leiden I 344 Reverse V 5, etc.

⁶⁾ SETHE, *Lesestücke*, 88.16.

⁷⁾ SETHE, *Dramatische Texte* I 53; Cf. S. MORENZ, *Ägyptische Religion*, 1960, p. 174, "Primat von Memphis".

Memphite theology, however, did this, incorporating Atūm of Heliopolis into its system. This already suggests, that Heliopolis was first in the conception of creation through the Divine Word. Memphis tried to associate the doctrine of several ancient places of worship with its own. Also the idea of Sia and Hū had its origin in Heliopolis, viz. the thought that the sun-god conceived a plan in his heart (Sia = insight) and afterwards uttered it through his creative word (Hū), resulting in things coming into existence. This "spiritual" conception existed in Heliopolis side by side with the more "crude" form of creation through masturbation of the sun-god. Probably the Egyptians themselves did not see an antagonism between the "spiritual" and the "crude", wishing only to express the idea, that the sun-god created everything out of himself without instruments, available material or any assistance. For Ptaḥ of Memphis the idea of a craftsman was characteristic, forming the world as an artisan through the skill of his hands ¹⁾. Now just our passage expresses elaborately the doctrine of creation through the Divine Word, doing so in terms which testify a deep theological reflection.

Some other instances of creation through the Divine Word, connected with the sun-god, are the following. "Praise to thee, Amūn-Rē'-Atūm-Ḥarakhti, who spoke with his mouth and there came into being men, gods, cattle, and all goats in their totality, (yea and) all that flieth and alighteth" ²⁾. "... Kho-pri. He comes into being, and what he says comes into being" ³⁾. "The figures were numerous as that which originated through my utterance" ⁴⁾. "Who made heaven, who opened the horizon, who caused the gods to originate according to his word" ⁵⁾. Amūn, "who created the earth when he had come into being. What his heart conceived came immediately into being" ⁶⁾. "What he proclaimed to come, happened at once. He founded that which was uttered by his voice. He planned that which would be later. He did not command anything defective. He made man, he conceived the gods, he created the body of the Nine Gods" ⁷⁾. The spoken word is a reality, e.g. when the offering formula is recited, this is as good as if the offerings were really presented. Also the magic word is creative; it summons up a reality. As to "It was said and it

¹⁾ See MORENZ, *op. cit.* p. 24, the verb *ptḥ* = to mould, to shape, to form.

²⁾ Chester Beatty IV Recto VII 5, ed. GARDINER; see also B. H. STRICKER, *De Geboorte van Horus I*, Leiden, 1963, p. 67.

³⁾ B.D. Chapter CXXX, Pap. Nu. 31; BUDGE 283.6-8; T. G. ALLEN, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, Chicago 1960, p. 214.

⁴⁾ Or, "which came forth from my mouth"; *Book of slaying Apophis*, Pap. Bremner Rhind, 26.22. Besides that, creation through masturbation has been mentioned.

⁵⁾ Pap. Berlin P 3055, *Ritual of Amūn* VI 9.

⁶⁾ Theb. Tempel Gr. Zeit 138 h.

⁷⁾ *Op. cit.* 142; B. H. STRICKER, *De Geboorte van Horus I* 67; S. SAUNERON and J. YOYOTTE, *La Naissance du Monde*, Sources Orientales I, Paris 1959, p. 70.

came into being", compare the Old Testament, "For He spake and it was done, He commanded and it stood fast" ¹⁾).

"The Great One who made the gods". H. JUNKER suggested that "The Great One" is a "high god", and he thought of primeval monotheism in Egypt ²⁾. Several gods, who are called by their names, are also indicated as "Great One", e.g. the sun-god. "Now a Great One stands upright in his chapel" ³⁾. When a text mentions "The Great One who is in Heliopolis" ⁴⁾, this should be an epithet of Rē'. When the sun-god is designated as "Great one" or "Eldest One" ⁵⁾, the texts mean him to be a primeval god, the first who existed and by whom all the other gods originated. This has been exactly expressed in the passage "The Great One, who made the gods".

WBZ 1170. "... who opens the primeval ocean, by the splendour of his (sun)disk. Through whose rays the fishes breathe. He illuminates the darkness".

The closing formula says that "offerings are brought to Amūn" in several places of worship.

Amūn is called "he who hears prayers on the western side of Thebes".

Before he rose the sun-god was pre-existent in the primeval ocean. He is "the living flame, which came forth from Nūn (the primeval waters), which gives light to the sun-folk" ⁶⁾. The primeval ocean is the great womb that bears everything which will come into being. Nūn and the flood of the Nile were one and the same. The flooding fertilized the land, thus containing possibilities for the renewal of life. This annual occurrence had its prototype in the beginning. Nūn flooded the earth and the sun-god Atūm was in it, not yet having found a place on which he could stand. "I am Atūm, being alone in Nūn" ⁷⁾. "I am alone together with Nūn in weariness, when I had not yet found a place on which I could stand" ⁸⁾. "Who shines forth from Nūn, who chases away darkness through the light of both his eyes" (i.e. the sun and the moon) ⁹⁾. "The noble *b3* came forth from Nūn, when the earth was still united with primeval darkness. He is the snake, creator of the earth, whose disk is the sun. He has illuminated his territory as a flame, he has raised the sky" ¹⁰⁾. *B3* should here have the meaning of "power", "energy". The sun-god was pre-existent in the primeval waters as a "light-energy" which shone forth from the depths.

¹⁾ Psalm 33: 9, King James Version.

²⁾ H. JUNKER, *Götterlehre von Memphis*, Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1939, no. 23, p. 25.

³⁾ *Pyr. Par.* 300 a.

⁴⁾ *Leiden* I 350 IV 13.

⁵⁾ *Wr* can have both meanings.

⁶⁾ *Urk.* IV 111.11.

⁷⁾ *Book of the Dead*, XVII, *Urk.* V Abschn. 1.

⁸⁾ *Coff. Texts* II 33 e sqq.

⁹⁾ *Edfu* V 342.3.

¹⁰⁾ *Theb. Tempel Gr. Zeit* 79 h.

The ideas of breath and light are in Egypt very closely linked. The texts use also the term "warm breath" ¹⁾ in connection with the sun. One could think of the sun disk of the El Amarnah creed whose rays end in hands holding the sign of life at the nose of the king, thus giving him breath. The rays of the sun penetrate the water and give life to the fishes. Thus the sun is the well of life for everything. We quote a passage from the Cairohymn, which is earlier than Akhenaten, but is very similar to the great Amarnahhymn, as the second quotation will show.

Cairohymn VI.2 sqq., "Thou art the sole one, who made all that is, the absolutely unique one, who made what exists; from whose eyes man came forth ²⁾, on whose mouth the gods originated ³⁾; who made the grass for the cattle, the corn for the sun-folk (= man); who made that upon which the fishes in the river live and the birds, which fly in the sky; who gives breath to the one who is in the egg (the embryo), who keeps alive the young of the snake; who makes that upon which the gnats live and the worms and the fleas likewise; who makes that which the mice in their holes need, who keeps alive the birds in every tree".

Amarnahhymn, "The birds, which fly up from their nests, their wings are raised in adoration before thy Being. All animals dance on their feet, all that flies up and alights, they live when thou risest before them. The fishes in the river spring up before thy face, for thine rays penetrate into the depths of the sea . . . The nestling in the egg, which speaks already within the shell, thou givest breath to it therein in order to keep it alive".

Thus life is renewed when the sun rises and expells the darkness, the shadow of death. "Praise to thee, when thou appearest from the primeval ocean, Ḥar-Ḥeknū (Horus of Praise), who lives upon Mā'e (Righteousness, Truth), who takes away darkness, who causes light to come into being" ⁴⁾. "Righteous youth ⁵⁾, who enlightens the darkness, who creates light, who expells darkness" ⁶⁾. "Whose light chases darkness away" ⁷⁾.

At the end of WBZ 1170 several places are mentioned in the necropolis on the westbank of the Nile, e.g. Dêr el-Baḥrî. There Amūn as "the hearer of prayers" was very beloved among the workers, who cut out and decorated the tombs, constructed in the rocks. The inscriptions from their stelae give many examples of this "personal piety".

¹⁾ *Hh, Wb.* II 502.5.

²⁾ A legend according to which man (*rmṯ*) came forth from the tears (*rmw*) of the eyes of the sun-god.

³⁾ Creation through the word or by spitting them out.

⁴⁾ *Theb. Tempel Gr. Zeit* 116.

⁵⁾ The sun as a young child in the morning.

⁶⁾ *Edfu* IV 137.

⁷⁾ *Edfu* IV 197.

WBZ 1174. Epithets of the sun-god. "Who rises from the waters, who shines forth < from > the eastern mountain on his (usual) place, who raises himself as Khopri. Atūm, who sets in the western mountain, who makes Nūt pregnant with his beauty. The next day he goes round again¹⁾. Who created²⁾ man, who gave birth to the gods".

These passages are very similar to those of WBZ 1130. Another Heliopolitan conception was that Rē' was the son of the sky goddess Nūt and of the earth god Geb. In the morning he came forth from her womb, in the evening he entered her body through her mouth. This has been very clearly depicted on the ceiling in one of the rooms in the temple at Dendera. It is the sun-god "who hides his image in the body (or 'belly') of Nūt" ³⁾. "Who is conceived in the night. The next day thou art born again. Thy mother Nūt rejoices at thee every day" ⁴⁾. "Pass through thy mother Nūt, o Lord, o Rē'. They recite for thee the spells, which are in her belly (spells of birth). Isis and Nephthys raise thee (as midwives). Thou comest forth between the thighs of thy mother Nut. Rise, Rē'-Ḥarakhti" ⁵⁾. "He enters the mouth (of his mother Nūt), he, who comes forth between the thighs at his birth in the East of the sky" ⁶⁾. "Of whom she (Nūt) becomes pregnant every day, to whom his mother gives birth in the East" ⁷⁾. "Youthful Horus . . . Hast thou (not) been conceived during the night < by > Nūt and born as a young bull?" ⁸⁾.

"To go round" (*phr*) is a verb especially applied to the circuit of the sun ⁹⁾. A hymn says concerning the daily course of the sun, "Hasty as to his course . . . Who encircles the earth in a moment, nothing being hidden from him. Who crosses the sky, who traverses the underworld. Sun (which shines) on every way. Who goes round (*phr*) in the sight (of man)" ¹⁰⁾. It is the sun-god, "who causes himself to go round (*sphr*) within the completion of an hour" ¹¹⁾. During the night the sun passes *through* the body of Nūt, during the day it moves on, *along* it. A god says to the king, "I cause thy terror to go round (*phr*) in the two mountains (which border Egypt to the East and the West of the Nile) as the sun disk along the body of Nūt" ¹²⁾.

¹⁾ Read <m> r3-6, ERMAN, *Neueg. Gram.* Par. 683.1.

²⁾ Lit. "made a beginning with man".

³⁾ *Leiden* I 344 Reverse I 4.

⁴⁾ *Br. Mus.* 10.474, line 5.

⁵⁾ *Pap. Berlin* P 3050 II 5.

⁶⁾ *Tomb of Tjanefer*, ed. K. C. SEELE, OIP LXXXVI, Chicago 1959, Pl. 10; Theb. Tomb no. 158.

⁷⁾ *Edfu* VII 21.4.

⁸⁾ *Chester Beatty* IV Recto IX 4.

⁹⁾ *Wb.* I 546.4, vom Umlauf der Gestirne.

¹⁰⁾ *Leiden* I 350 II 18-19.

¹¹⁾ *Leiden* I 344 Reverse II 7.

¹²⁾ *Edfu* I 294.

The sun-god created man and the gods. They seem to be two categories of creatures, the sun-god as the creator, being superior to them. Apart from Akhenaten there has always been a trend towards sun-monotheism in the doctrine of Heliopolis. It is the sun-god "who built man and made the gods and all the cattle and the flock without exception" ¹⁾. "Who gave birth to man, who begot the gods" ²⁾. "Who made heaven, who founded the two banks (i.e. Egypt), who created the gods, who made man" ³⁾. "Thou hast made them, (viz.) the gods in thy retinue, since thou didst come forth alone from the primeval waters. Thou didst make man, the flock, the cattle, all that originates and exists. Everybody sees his neighbour. They exult unto thee" ⁴⁾. There is a Heliopolitan myth according to which the eye of the sun-god went abroad. When it was brought back and found a substitute in its place, it wept (*rmj*). From these tears (*rmjt*) man (*rmṯ*, a pun) originated. "I caused the gods to originate from my sweat. Man are the tears of my eye" ⁵⁾, says the sun-god. The gods are of the same substance as he. He is "the Great One, who is at the head of the gods, from whose eyes man came forth, and from whose mouth the gods originated" ⁶⁾. Here the text may refer to the spitting out of Shū and Tefnūt.

WBZ 1178. Epithets of Amūn. "The great ram, whose front is like a ram, chief of all the gods. Who was alone in the first primeval time. Atūm, who created what exists. Whose forms came into being, who originated first. Khopri, who compounded (lit. knitted) the earth according to his plan. Divine god, who originated on the first occasion, whose power passes through the two lands."

Besides the goose, the ram was a holy animal in which Amūn-Rē' of Thebes was supposed to be incorporated. Everyone who has visited the Karnak temple will remember the "dromos" of ram-headed sphinxes before the pylons. Several gods were worshipped in the form of a ram, e.g. Khnum and the god of Mendes. The ram was a symbol of fertility.

As chief of all the gods the sun-god has a primacy. As early as the *Pyramid Texts* it is said concerning the sun-god, "For it is thou who lookest down upon the other gods. No god looketh down upon thee" ⁷⁾. The god of Thebes is known as "Amonrasonther", i.e. Amūn, the king of the gods. A hymn to Amūn-Rē' says, "Thou shinest in thy disk. Thou art praised as chief of the gods. Thou crossest the sky. Thou hast opened the heaven" ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ *Leiden* I 344 Reverse II 1-2.

²⁾ *Edfu* III 156.

³⁾ *Berlin* 6910, *Äg. Inschr.* p. 65.

⁴⁾ *Hymn of Tura*, lines 15, 16.

⁵⁾ *Coff. Texts* VII 464 g, 465 a.

⁶⁾ *Edfu* VIII 93.8.

⁷⁾ *Par.* 1479.

⁸⁾ *Leiden* I 344 Reverse V 8.

The rest of the passage contains beliefs which we have found in previous texts, viz. the creator being alone in the beginning, making everything according to the conceptions of his heart.

WBZ 1179. "Amūn-Rē'-Atūm-Khopri, ram of heaven, equipped with forms and figures every day. Who sees heaven and earth".

The sun-god has many forms. A usual epithet is "rich in forms" ¹⁾. What are those forms? One could think of the great multitude of creatures. According to WBZ 1129 the sun-god "makes himself into millions". He says, "It was a multitude of forms which came forth from my mouth" ²⁾. It is, however, equally possible, that those forms represent the gods. In the myth of Rē' and Isis, in which Rē' is forced to tell his secret name, he says, "I am rich of names, rich of figures, my shape is one of every god". Amūn is the only real god, the other gods are his manifestations. This was also a way of expressing the primacy of Amūn. Finally the "forms" of Amūn-Rē' could refer to his different aspects, as Rē', Khopri, Atūm, Ḥarakhti, etc.

The sun-god is all-seeing. When he performs his daily course along the sky, he sees everything that happens on earth. Nothing is hidden from him. "He knows heaven and earth, he sees the entire earth in an hour" ³⁾. "There is nought of which thou art ignorant on earth" ⁴⁾. "Thou hearest with thine ears, thou seeest millions of countries" ⁵⁾.

WBZ 1181. "Who created everything, efficient god, who made what is. Who originated by himself [...] who shone forth from the horizon at the break of day... Divine child in the morning. Who goes round... rich of forms, rich of names. WBZ 1182. Grant to me that my eyes may see thy rays."

Amūn-Rē' is an efficient god, he succeeds in all his undertakings. It is he "who issues his commands to millions of millions, his decree does not vacillate. (His) word is excellent, his commands are efficient, he does not make a mistake" ⁶⁾.

Every morning he is born again as a child. The riddle of the sphinx was: What goes in the morning on four, in the afternoon on two and in the evening on three legs? The solution of Oedipus was: Man, who crawls on the floor on both his hands and his legs when he is a little child, stands on his feet when he is an adult, and leans on a stick when he is old. But it may also refer to the sun-god, who is born as a youth, is a man at the zenith of the day, and returns to the underworld in the evening as an old man. As the sphinx is closely

¹⁾ *Leiden* I 350 IV 12.

²⁾ *Book of slaying Apophis* 5. 22.

³⁾ *Urk.* IV 751. 15-16.

⁴⁾ *Chester Beatty* IV Recto XI 1.

⁵⁾ *Book of the Dead*, Introductory hymn to Rē', ed. BUDGE, 1898, p. 10, lines 5-6.

⁶⁾ *Pap. Nsikhons* III 36.

connected with the sun-god, the solution of the riddle may also refer to himself ¹⁾. It is the sun-god, "who returns in the morning, who makes himself a child again, who rejuvenates himself, who passes eternity" ²⁾. "Thou returnest, being renewed, every day" ³⁾. "Old man, who rejuvenates himself at his (set) time, aged one, who becomes a child" ⁴⁾. "Exalted old man, who rejuvenates himself at his (set) time" ⁵⁾. "Old man in the evening, who rejuvenates himself, who passes eternity, who sails to his place of yesterday" (i.e. to the place where he rose in the morning, the day before) ⁶⁾. "A child in the morning, an old man in the evening, who repeats birth every day... Old man, becoming young anew, who passes eternity, who gave birth to himself, before he came forth from the womb" ⁷⁾. "Child, born at dawn, venerated one in the evening, who enters the gate of the West" (i.e. the realm of the dead, the underworld) ⁸⁾.

The sun-god is embodiment of everlasting life, that is, not simply life without end, but life which renews itself continuously. It passes death and recovers from death. Thus the idea of the sun-god becoming an old man and reborn as a youth, is the gist of Egyptian religion. According to Egyptian beliefs man may partake in this cyclic process of renewal and in this way receive eternal life.

It is striking that the inscriptions from the tomb of Nebwenenef are often original in their wordings, although they represent the usual ideas of Egyptian religion. This testifies a deep religious reflection. These inscriptions refer to the two gods, who are most important for the deceased, viz. Rē' and Osiris; this occurs frequently in Theban tombs. The way, in which Nebwenenef deals with these gods, shows, however, a theological reflection, which is more elaborate than usually. This may be due to the fact that he had been a priest in the Thinite nome, the domain of Osiris, and that his last position was that of a high-priest of Amūn-Rē' at Thebes. It is quite possible that some of these wordings were his own; on the other hand they could have been derived from the hymn-books used in the temples. One way or the other, these inscriptions give us a good example of theological thinking, as practiced by the clergy of Amūn-Rē', at the zenith of his worship during the 19th dynasty.

Utrecht

J. ZANDEE

¹⁾ W. B. KRISTENSEN, *Het Leven uit de Dood*, 1949, pp. 201, 202.

²⁾ *Pap. Berlin* P. 3049 II 5.

³⁾ *Book of the Dead*, CXXXIII, ed. BUDGE, 1898, 289.7.

⁴⁾ *Metternichstele* 38.

⁵⁾ *Edfu* I 502.

⁶⁾ *Edfu* V 72 9-10.

⁷⁾ *Edfu* II 37.

⁸⁾ *Edfu* III 68.

SOME NOTES ON THE GOD SHU

Shu is a deity about whom the standard works on Egyptian religion have comparatively little to say. What in fact is said about him may be summed up in a few words: he and his sister-wife Tefēnet were created by Atum acting alone; these two were the second and third members of the Heliopolitan Ennead; Shu represented the air which separates earth and sky and supported the latter; and he raised the dead to the sky. In the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, however, there is a series of spells (75 ff.) which are entirely concerned with this god, the deceased being identified either with Shu himself or with his soul (*b3*), and despite their corruptions and contradictions they do seem to be based on a genuine theology of Shu which goes a little deeper than the bald outline given above. To translate the relevant spells in full with accompanying commentary would require a great deal of printing space, but the really significant passages can be extracted and discussed in a short paper.

The most primitive form of the account of the creation of Shu and his consort Tefēnet attributes this event to masturbation on the part of Atum (*Pyr.* 1248); the first stage in the refinement of this crude myth was to change the creative act to spitting (*išš*, cf. *Pyr.* 1652); in the Coffin Texts Shu is often said to have been exhaled (*nf3*) from the nostrils of Atum (e.g. *CT* I, 338b; 360a). In 354b-c the doctrine of creation by masturbation is explicitly rejected: 'I am he whose shape was exhaled; he (i.e. Atum) did not fashion me with his grasp, he did not conceive me with his grasp'. In accordance with his creation from the breath of Atum, Shu is described as 'invisible of shape' (*sfg irw*, cf. 316b; 405b). The fact that Shu is once described as 'the self-created' (*hpr ds.f*, 314b), in contradiction of what has been quoted above, is undoubtedly an ancient copyist's blunder, an epithet entirely appropriate to Atum being attached in error to the name of Shu; in e.g. 358a, 397a this epithet is correctly applied to Atum.

An interesting passage occurs in *CT* II, 39b ff., where the deceased, who is identified with Shu, is made to say: 'I am a living one, a possessor of years, and I live for ever, a lord of eternity. Atum achieved eldership through his power when he fashioned Shu and Tefēnet in Ōn; when he was alone in his existence, without me; when he separated Gēb from Nūt before the first generation had been born, before the primaeval Enneads had come into being, and they shall be with me ¹⁾. He conceived me in his nose and I came out of

¹⁾ *M fnḏ.f* at the end of this clause in B1C is an anticipation of the end of 39i.



his nostrils ¹⁾. He has set ²⁾ me on his neck ³⁾ and will not let me be far from him; I, my name and my son the primaeval god are alive, I live on the *bsnw* ⁴⁾ of my father Atum, I am the living one who is on his neck and my throat is made to flourish ⁵⁾, (even I) whom Atum made into the Corn-god (*npr*) when he caused me to go down to this land, to the Island of Fire, when I had become Osiris the son of Gēb, I am the living one who made for himself the length of the sky and the breadth of the earth (*gb*), so that there might come into existence the food-offerings which were brought to me (?) ⁶⁾ for the god. My father Atum kisses me when he ascends from the eastern horizon ⁷⁾, and his heart is pleased at seeing me; he proceeds in peace to the western horizon and he finds me in his path. I knit on his head and make his uraeus to live, I make the head of Isis firm on her neck, I gather the bones of Osiris together, I strengthen his flesh daily, and daily I make his limbs hale. Falcons live and also ducks, jackals in movement, pigs in the desert, hippopotami in the marshes, people, corn and shoals of fish in the waters which are in the Nile ⁸⁾, in accordance with the command of Atum that I should govern them and nourish them with this mouth of mine. My life is what is in their nostrils, I guide their breath into their throats, I knit on their heads with this authority of mine which is on my lips, which my father Atum who ascends from the eastern horizon gave to me, and I nourish the *hddw*-fish and the snakes which are on the back of Gēb; I indeed will live beneath Nūt'. Here we have the air-god Shu as begotten of the breath exhaled by Atum, as the air which gives life to all Nature, and as the supporter of the sky; a truly compendious account of his function in the cosmos. Even so, we still meet with an older mythological stratum, as when we read in *CT* II, 3d ff.: 'I indeed am Shu whom Atum created, whereby Rē' came into being; I was not built up in the womb, I was not knit together in the egg, I was not conceived, but Atum spat me out in

¹⁾ Here the identification of the deceased with Shu is clear.

²⁾ *Dwd.n.f* in 40b is a *vox nihili*; it appears to be a conflation of *dw.n.f* and *wd.n.f*. On these verbal stems see JEA 45, 102.

³⁾ I.e. in the position of carrying a child, cf. my note on *Admonitions*, 4,3; 5,6 in JEA 50, 26-7. See also: 'I am Shu, the son of Atum; he fashioned me in his nose and I issued from his nostrils, he put me on his neck and kissed me every day' (Spell 81, *CT* II, 44a-c according to B1C, substituting the pronoun of the 1st person for the name of the deceased; 'I am Atum' of the parallel texts is shown by the context to be in error).

⁴⁾ Apparently a foodstuff, not to be confused with *bsn* 'gypsum'.

⁵⁾ Read *sw3ḏ htk.i*, cf. B1C; the other texts have read  as  and have merged it into the preceding verb.

⁶⁾ *Htpt sšmt im.i*, lit. 'the offerings which were guided into me'.

⁷⁾ Perhaps an allusion to the moment when the rim of the rising sun first becomes visible through the air.

⁸⁾ Following B1C; the variants all show some measure of confusion. The repetition of *rmw* in 40c is doubtless a dittograph.

the spittle of his mouth together with my sister Tefēnet'.¹⁾ In Spell 80 Shu appears as clad in air and as god of the weather (29d ff.): 'I am Shu whom Atum fashioned, and this garment of mine is the air of life. A cry for me (?) went forth from the mouth of Atum¹⁾, the air opened up upon my ways. It is I who make the sky light after darkness, my pleasant colour¹⁾ is the air which goes forth after me from the mouth of Atum, and the storm-cloud of the sky is my efflux; hailstorms¹⁾ and half-darkness¹⁾ are my sweat¹⁾. The length of the sky belongs to my strides, the width of this earth belongs to my settlements. I am he whom Atum created, and I am bound for my place of eternity. I am Everlasting who fashioned the Chaos-gods¹⁾, whom the spittle of Atum reproduced, even what issued from his mouth when he used his hand'. Again in Spell 77 (18a ff.) we read: 'I am this soul of Shu which is on the flame of the fiery blast which Atum kindled with his own hand. He created orgasm and fluid fell from his mouth. He spat me out as Shu together with Tefēnet, who came forth after me'. In the two latter quotations we have not only direct statements that Atum created Shu by spitting, but also clear allusions to the creation by masturbation. Old conceptions died hard in the Egyptian mind.

Another point of interest which emerges from the Coffin Texts is the close connexion of Shu with the eight *ḥḥ*-gods, the 'Urgötter' discussed by SETHE in his book *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*. SETHE has commented briefly (§ 200) on the relation between Shu and the *ḥḥ*-gods, quoting a number of late texts, but the Coffin Texts shed much more light on this topic. It is noteworthy that these eight beings—translated by me as 'Chaos-gods' from their having come into existence before the emergence of the world from the primaeval Chaos—are not named individually in the texts here discussed, but are always referred to as a group. Spell 75 of the Coffin Texts is not really interested in the Chaos-gods, but Spell 76 is much more informative. It begins: 'O you eight Chaos-gods who are in charge of the members¹⁾ of the sky,

¹⁾ 'Nūt' in B1C is an obvious slip of the pen; read 'Tefēnet' with the other texts.

²⁾ *Pr n ḥḥ i m r n i t m*; the translation of *ḥḥ i* is difficult, but the reference to the mouth of Atum suggests a possible connexion with the verb *ḥḥ* 'wail', 'screech', *Concise Dict.* 160, in which case *ḥḥ i* could mean 'a cry for (lit. 'of') me'; 'my cry' makes no sense here.

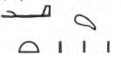
³⁾ Reading *inm ḥḥ* with B1C; in B1Bo and perhaps in G1T *ḥḥ* has been corrupted into *mḥd(y)w*. This sentence seems to attribute the pleasant blue colour of the sky to the presence of air viewed in depth; if so, it would be an unwitting anticipation of a scientific fact, the scattering by the air of the blue rays of the solar spectrum.

⁴⁾ Reading *ḥḥ i* with G1T and A1C rather than the less precise *nḥn* of the other texts. For *ḥḥ i* cf. *Pyr.* 336b, where the determinatives in both texts clearly indicate hailstones; 1150b; *Urk.* IV, 535,1; *BD* 481,4.

⁵⁾ *iḥḥw* 'dusk' here represents the half-darkness of a coming storm.

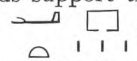
⁶⁾ *iḥt*, lit. 'dew', but used here of a bodily exudation.



⁷⁾ *ḥḥw*, see below.

⁸⁾  so five texts out of six, perhaps envisaging a scene such as that in the

whom Shu made from the efflux of his members, who put together the ladder of Atum, come and meet your father in me, give me your arms, put together the ladder for me, for I am he who created you and made you, even as I was created by your (fore-)father Atum. I am weary of the Supports-of-Shu since I lifted up my daughter Nūt from upon myself so that I might give her to my father Atum in his realm and set Gēb under my feet'. A little further on (II, 5a) the spell says: 'I am Shu, father of the gods, and Atum once sent his Sole Eye seeking me and my sister Tefēnet. I made light of the darkness for it, and it found me as an immortal (*s nḥḥ*). It was I who again begot the Chaos-gods in Chaos, in the Abyss, in darkness and in gloom'¹⁾. Note also the description of the Chaos-gods in Spell 78 (19c ff.): 'O you eight Chaos-gods whom Shu conceived, whom Shu fashioned, whom Shu created, whom Shu knit together, whom Shu begot from the efflux which was in his flesh as jackals of the seed of Shu, whom Nūt raised up under Atum²⁾, who guard the road of Nu³⁾ which belongs to Atum, the length of which is that of the sky and its breadth is that of the earth'. Again in Spell 80 (27d ff.) we read: 'O you eight Chaos-gods, being veritable Chaos-gods⁴⁾, who encircle the sky with your arms, who gather together sky and earth (*ḥḥ*) for Gēb, Shu fashioned you in Chaos, in the Abyss, in darkness and in gloom, and he allots you to Gēb and Nūt, while Shu is Everlasting and Tefēnet is Eternity'. In the last two passages the parentage and place of birth of the Chaos-gods is made quite plain.

Another interesting point is that Shu is viewed as having become tired of propping up the sky. Already in the first passage from Spell 76 quoted above we have read that 'I am weary of the Supports-of-Shu (*sṯsw Ṣw*)'. Following on CT II, 6b there is confusion and corruption in the various texts, but it is possible, with a little emendation, to extract an intelligible text which could well be an approximation to the archetype. It seems clear that 6c-7b, which occur only in G1T and are an anticipation of 7d ff., should be disregarded,

tomb of Sethos I, where these gods support the legs of the celestial cow, cf. JEA 28, pl. 4. B1C, however, substitutes  'chambers'.

¹⁾ *M ḥḥw, m nw, m tnmw, m kkw*; with minor variations, this description of conditions before the creation of the world runs as a kind of refrain throughout this spell. In his *Amun*, § 143, n. 2, SETHE disregards the frequently occurring determinative  of *tnm* and its corrupt variant  as of no significance, although it is clear from the body of the paragraph that DE BUCK had shown him the relevant passages. I believe that in the present context *kkw* and *tnmw* are virtual synonyms for the primaeval darkness prevailing in the Abyss before the creation of the universe, *tnmw* possibly referring to swirling mist.

²⁾ Following B1Bo (20c) and omitting 20a.b, which appear to me to be corruptions.

³⁾ Var. 'Nūt'.

⁴⁾ *iḥḥ 8 iḥw m ḥḥ n ḥḥ*, lit. 'O you eight Chaos-Gods, being Chaos-gods of Chaos-gods'.

and that we should start again at 7c. I would reconstruct 7c-10a as follows:—

'I ḥḥ 8 ḥpw ḥrw·n·i m rḏw n ḥf·i 'O you eight Chaos-gods whom I made
from the efflux of my flesh,
ḥrw·n 'Itm rnw·sn ḥft ḥm3 Nw ¹⁾ whose names Atum made when the Abyss
was created
ḥrw pw mḏw·n 'Itm ḥm·f ḥn· Nw on that day when Atum spoke in it with Nu
m ḥḥw m tnmw m ḥḥw in Chaos, in darkness and in gloom:
mḥw m ḥsfw·i m ḥ·w Come and meet me in joy,
ḥmy n·i 'wy·tn give me your arms,
ts n·i m3ḥt put the ladder together for me
mḥ ḥrt·n·tn n ḥt·i 'Itm just as you did for my father Atum,
ḥw·i wrḏ·kwḥ ḥr stsw Šw for I am weary of the Supports-of-Shu,
ḏnḥt ḥḥw. the bank of dusk' ²⁾.

The passage quoted above is the first stanza of a kind of litany which goes on to appeal to 'the Lord of the Sky', 'you who brighten Chaos and lighten the skies', 'you n·w-serpents', 'the blood of Shu, Bull of Uraei', 'Inhaler of breath which is on the mouth of Shu' and 'Bull of Millions who wards off 'Apep' to 'put the ladder together for me, make a road for me, for I am weary in the Abyss, in Chaos, in darkness and in gloom'. Shu is tired of propping up the sky and wants to ascend into it, and so does the dead man who claims identity with him. Mr. H. S. SMITH has reminded me that this weariness of Shu finds a parallel in the Stela of Suti and Ḥor (Brit. Mus. 826, l. 2), where the sun-god is described as wrḏ m ḥ3t 'weary of labour'. It is a human touch to think of Shu's arms aching as he perpetually bears the sky aloft.

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¹⁾ I believe that mḏw here, though common to all texts, is in fact an anticipation of mḏw in 7f and should be disregarded in 7e; ḥm·f in 7f, clearly alluding to the Abyss, affords some confirmation of my view.

²⁾ This could be an allusion to the banks of cloud which are apt to appear on the horizon at sunrise and sunset, and which might well be thought of as propping up the sky.

LETOPOLIS UND DER BERICHT DES HERODOT ÜBER PAPREMIS

Herodot erwähnt an mehreren Stellen des 2. Buchs seiner Historien eine Stadt Papremis im Nildelta, deren genaue geographische Lage bis heute noch nicht bestimmt werden konnte. Jedoch hat schon KEES ¹⁾ nachdrücklich gefordert, sie im Westdelta zu suchen. Er verweist auf die geographischen Anhaltspunkte, die Herodot (II. 65) selbst gibt, wenn er den von Hermotybiern bewohnten Gau von Papremis neben die Gaue von Busiris, Sais, Chemmis und Prosopis im Westdelta stellt. Auch meint er, dass die im Jahre 459 v. Chr. von den aufständischen Ägyptern und Libyern gegen die Perser ausgetragene Schlacht bei Papremis nur im Westen des Deltas stattgefunden haben könnte, da die Perser ohne Schwierigkeiten sich nach ihrem Hauptstützpunkt Memphis zurückzogen.

ČERNÝ ²⁾ hat nun versucht, die ägyptische Etymologie des mit Πάπρημις umschriebenen Ortsnamens zu klären, indem er ihn aus einem ägyptischen *P3-(n)-p3-rmt-mḥyt, das ein koptisches Äquivalent *πα-π-ρ-α-μ-ḥ-ṣ-ṣ-ṣ haben könnte, ableitet. Allerdings gelingt ihm nicht, diesen Städtenamen mit einer bestimmten Ortschaft des Westdelta zu verbinden. Daher kann sein Vorschlag für die Lokalisierung von Papremis keine wesentlichen Verbesserungen gegenüber früheren etymologischen Versuchen bringen ³⁾. Seine methodischen Ausführungen zur sprachlichen Ableitung jedoch bringen die Möglichkeit, einen neuen Weg der Deutung zu finden.

Aus dem Papyrus Westcar sind die „Sandbänke des  ⁴⁾ in der Nähe von Sachebu bekannt. Sie liegen in dem Wasserlauf , der bis zum ersten Monat der Peret-Jahreszeit die Schifffahrt erlaubt. Sein Name erscheint in später Zeit in Abydos ⁵⁾ unter den Namen der Nilarme. In Edfu ⁶⁾ und Dendera ⁷⁾ wird er als Variante zu ḥtr ḥ3 als Bezeichnung des Nilarms von Rosette ⁸⁾ gebraucht. Da die Lesung von  unsicher ist, wird diese geographische Bezeichnung meist nur mit „Kanal der beiden Fische“ wieder-

¹⁾ KEES, in PAULY-WISSOWA, RE XVIII.3, 1949, S. 1107 s.v. Papremis; KEES, Studi Rosellini II, 1955, 150 f.

²⁾ ČERNÝ, Archiv Orientalni 20, 1952, 86-89.

³⁾ ČERNÝ, a.O. 86 f.

⁴⁾ Papyrus Westcar IX, 15 ff.


⁵⁾ MARIETTE, Abydos I, Taf. 14 Nr. 47.




⁶⁾ CHASSINAT, Edfou V, 14.

⁷⁾ DÜMICHEN, Geogr. Inschr. IV, 108.

⁸⁾ GARDINER, Anc. Eg. Onom. II, 163* ff.

gegeben. Wenn nun die Bezeichnung dieses Nillaufs, wie MONTET ¹⁾ vorsichtig andeutet, (*p3*) *rmwy* zu lesen ist, dürfte die Landschaft, durch die er fließt, einen Namen wie **p3 t3š n p3 rmwy* tragen, der abgekürzt als **p3-(n)-p3-rmwy* gut das Vorbild zu einem griechischen Πάμπερμης ²⁾ oder Πάπρημης gegeben haben könnte.

Ein Distrikt, der nach diesem Nilarm (*ḥ3-rmwj*) genannt wird, scheint aber in ägyptischen Texten nicht belegt zu sein. Dagegen ist eine Landschaft bekannt, die nach dem mit ihm identischen Flusslauf *itr-c3* heisst. Sie wird, soweit zu erkennen ist, nur in einzelnen neuägyptischen Texten erwähnt. Einer der wenigen Belege stammt aus der Geschichte von „Lüge und Wahrheit“³⁾, wo *itr-c3* als Ruheplatz des riesenhaften Deltastiers erscheint. In einem anderen, jedoch vereinzelt Beispiel ist die Bezeichnung *itr-c3* als Gauname in einer offiziellen Titulatur zu fassen. Ein gewisser Nebamun der 18. Dynastie, dessen theophorer Name der Verfolgung unter Echnaton ausgesetzt war, nennt sich auf seiner Stele⁴⁾ wiederholt  „Fürst von *itr-c3*“.

Da der Flussname *itr-ε3* mit der Bezeichnung (*p3*)-*rmwy* identisch ist, könnte der in der 18. Dynastie bei Nebamun genannte Gau (*p3*)-*itr-ε3* mit dem von Herodot angeführten Gau von Papremis gleichgesetzt werden. In beiden Fällen wäre dann die Landschaft nach dem sie bestimmenden Flussarm benannt worden. Der Nilarm (*p3*)-*rmwy* fließt aber, wie der Papyrus Westcar zeigt, an der Stadt Sachebu vorbei, die sicher ⁵⁾ im 2. unterägyptischen Gau am Rande der libyschen Wüste zu suchen ist. Daher wäre es denkbar, die Landschaft (*p3*)-*rmwy* mit dem zweiten unterägyptischen Gau zu verbinden, als dessen Hauptstadt in altägyptischer Zeit    *Hm* gilt, das von den Griechen gewöhnlich Letopolis genannt wird.

Wenn der Gau von Papremis bei Herodot mit dem 2. unterägyptischen Gau gleichzusetzen ist, ist auch seine Hauptstadt Papremis mit dem späteren Letopolis identisch ⁶⁾. Für eine solche Gleichsetzung spricht, daß Letopolis, das unter den Städten des Deltas große Bedeutung besitzt, bei Herodot niemals auch nur erwähnt wird. Die Stadt der Göttin Leto ist für ihn Buto im 6. unterägyptischen Gau ⁷⁾, wo sie als Amme und Retterin des Apoll und der Artemis auftritt.

¹⁾ MONTET, *Géogr.* I, 1957, 56.

²⁾ Herodot II, 59 ed. HUDE, Codex C.

³⁾ *Chester Beatty* II.9, 2-4 = GARDINER, *Late Eg. Stories*, 35.

⁴⁾ *Avignon*, Mus. Calvet Nr. 1 = MORET, Rec. trav. 32, 1910, 154 ff.

⁵⁾ SAUNERON, Kêmi II, 1950, 63 ff.; J. MONNET, Kêmi I3, 1954, 28 ff.; SAUNERON, BIFAO 55, 1955, 61 ff.


⁶⁾ Vgl. Nomenklatur für Memphis.


7) Herodot II, 59; 83; 152; 155; 156.

Herodot nennt die Göttin Leto nur in Verbindung mit Buto, niemals aber als Gottheit von Papremis, wo ein Gott Ares verehrt worden sein soll. Ein Kult des Gottes Ares in Papremis, der von Herodot (II. 59; II. 63) bezeugt wird, würde aber gut zu dem Bild passen, das man von Letopolis besitzt. Denn dort erscheint seit alter Zeit ein Haroeris, der als Gottheit des Onuriskreises einen ausgesprochen kriegerischen Charakter hat. Die Wesensübereinstimmung der beiden Gottheiten würde daher zumindest einen parallelen Kultbestand von Papremis und Letopolis aufzeigen. Gesichert wird jedoch die Identität ihrer Kultstätten durch den Vergleich der Festbräuche, die Herodot für Papremis angibt, mit denen, die aus ägyptischen Quellen für Letopolis zu rekonstruieren sind.

Herodot (II. 63) schildert den Verlauf einer Festfeier im Tempel von Papremis bis in Einzelheiten. Er erzählt, dass bei der Vorbereitung des Festes Priester das Götterbild des Ares in einem kleinen vergoldeten Naos aus Holz aus dem Haupttempel in ein anderes heiliges Gebäude geschafft haben, während ein anderes Götterbild noch im Tempel verbliebt. Am Abend des Festes selbst, an dem der Gott in den Tempel zurückkehren soll, stellen sich die Priester mit Keulen bewaffnet zum Empfang des Gottes vor und hinter dem Tempeleingang auf. Sie erwarten das Götterbild, das in dem vergoldeten Naos auf einem vierrädrigen Wagen von anderen Priestern herangeführt wird. Sobald der Naos sich dem Tempeleingang nähert, verweigern die Priester, die im Vorhof stehen, den Zugang. Die anderen Priester vor dem Eingang aber sprechen ein „Gelübde“. Daraufhin entsteht ein Tumult. Beide Parteien greifen zu ihren Holzkeulen und schlagen aufeinander los. Es beginnt eine regelrechte Schlacht, bei der, wie Herodot meint, manche Priester schwer am Kopf verwundet werden. Doch die Partei des Gottes gewinnt und das Götterbild kann in den Tempel eingeführt werden.


Diese gleichen Festbräuche, die für Papremis gelten, lassen sich schon in ältester Zeit für Letopolis nachweisen. Über den dramatischen Ablauf der gesamten Feier liegt sogar im sog. „Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus“ des Mittleren Reichs ¹⁾ eine Art Regieanweisung vor. Die von Herodot geschilderte Prügelzene wird dort (Szene 38, Z. 117) eingeleitet:


 „Es geschah, daß die *Shn.w-3h*-Priester das ‘die-beiden-Prügel-(Schwingen)’ machten.“

SETHE ²⁾, der in dieser Szene das „Bilden der Leiterholme für die Himmelfahrt des Königs“ sah, übersetzt das in dualischer Schreibung vorliegende  *me3w* anknüpfend an Pyr. § 468 b mit „Leiterholm“, obwohl

¹⁾ SETHE, *UGAÄ* 10, 1928, 83-264.

²⁾ SETHE, a.O. 223.


durch die Nennung des Namens „Letopolis“ in Z. 119 des Ramesseumpapyrus eher eine Beziehung zu der „Prügelei des Gebieters von Letopolis“ aus Spruch 469 der Pyramidentexte zu erkennen wäre. Dort heißt es (Pyr. § 908): „Pepi lebt mit seinem Ka, er (der Ka) vertreibt das Schlechte, das vor P. ist, er entfernt das Schlechte, das hinter P. ist, wie die  *m3.wt*-Prügelei des Gebieters von Letopolis, die das Schlechte entfernt, das vor ihm ist und die das Schlechte vertreibt, das hinter ihm ist“¹⁾.

Der Abschnitt § 908 des Spruchs 469 der Pyramidentexte scheint sich auf eine rituelle Handlung zu beziehen, die dem Festbrauch von Papremis bei Herodot sehr ähnlich ist und die in den Zeilen 118-119 des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus szenisch ausgearbeitet erscheint. Dort heißt der erste szenische Vermerk (Z. 118):

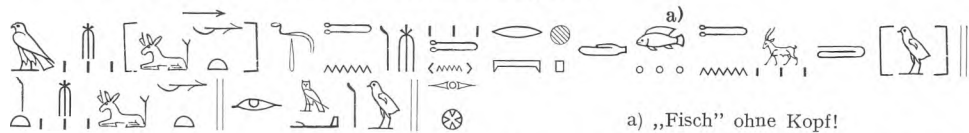


„Horus spricht Worte zu den Horuskindern: Ihr sollt meinen Vater (in den Tempel?) einführen! / Die Horuskinder. / Die *shn.w-3h*-Priester. / Der Ibisgau.“

Wie der Dramatische Ramesseumpapyrus vorher (Szene 36, Z. 111-113) berichtet, ist der Gott außerhalb des letopolitanischen Gaus im Ibisgau gewesen. Symbolisch wird diese Abwesenheit des Gottes durch die Überführung seiner Statue in ein anderes Gebäude des Tempelbezirks dargestellt. Die Horuskinder, die von den *shn.w-3h*-Priestern gespielt werden, bringen diese Statue zurück zum Haupttempel (Szene 37, Z. 114-116).

Schon im Ibisgau war aber an sie von ihrem Vater Haroeris der Befehl ergangen, die Statue in den Tempel einzuführen (vgl. Pyr. § 907). Das hier erscheinende  ist daher wahrscheinlich nicht, wie SETHE²⁾ meint, mit „aufsuchen“ zu übersetzen. Hier wird vielmehr ein *shn* = „(in den Tempel?) einführen“ vorliegen, das aus Texten der Spätzeit³⁾ gut bekannt ist.

Da den Priestern vor dem Haupttempel der Eingang verwehrt wird, müssen die Horuskinder versuchen, mit Gewalt Zutritt zum Tempel zu erlangen. Daher fährt der dramatische Text in Z. 119 fort:



a) „Fisch“ ohne Kopf!

„Die Horuskinder sprechen Worte zu den Gefolgsleuten des Seth: Erhebet eure *m3*-Hölzer zum Himmel, indem eure Hinterteile (wie die von) herum-

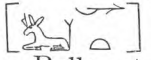
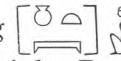

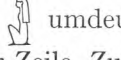
¹⁾ SETHE, *Pyramidentexte*, Kommentar IV, 184.





²⁾ SETHE, *UGAÄ* 10, 1928, 224.

³⁾ WB. III. 469.13.

laufenden Ziegen sind. / Das Erheben der *m3*-Hölzer der Gefolgsleute des Seth. / Ein „Prügel-(Schwingen)“ machen. / Letopolis.“

Dieser abweichend von Sethe restituierte Text bestätigt den Bericht des Herodot, der schildert, dass die eine Partei der kämpfenden Priesterschaft ein „Gelübde“ gesprochen habe (εὐχολιμαῖοι), während die andere sich anscheinend stumm verhielt. Darin besteht eine der wichtigsten Regieregeln des Ramesseumpapyrus, die fast immer nur der dem Gott gut gesinnten Partei das Wort erteilt.

SETHE, der den Text von anderen Voraussetzungen her ergänzte, mußte, um die Idee von der Himmelfahrt des Königs aufrecht zu erhalten, in die erste Lücke, in der wahrscheinlich  stand, die Himmelsgöttin Nut als dramatische Figur mit stummer Rolle setzen. Eine solche Ergänzung ist aber sehr unwahrscheinlich, da die Göttin Nut dann hier in einer ganz ungewöhnlichen Rolle aufträte, zudem in einer Schreibung, die unüblich determiniert ist. Außerdem würde eine Ergänzung  zu Beginn der Zeile 119 eine nochmalige Nennung dieser Göttin bei der Regieanweisung am Ende der Zeile verlangen. Dazu fehlt aber der Platz, selbst für ein von Sethe angenommenes . Für eine Ergänzung *ht St3* sprechen die verbleibenden Spuren im Papyrus bei Zeile 119, die Sethe als  umdeutete, und die nochmalige Nennung dieser Gefolgsleute am Ende der Zeile. Zudem paßt gerade zu ihnen die stumme Rolle, die ihnen an allen anderen Stellen verschiedenster Szenen des Ramesseumpapyrus zukommt⁴⁾.



Nach allem kann auch die Deutung SETHE's für *m3.w* nicht aufrecht erhalten bleiben. Das *tn.t m3.w* der Gefolgsleute des Seth ist nach der Regieanweisung am Ende von Z. 119 für die szenische Realisierung mit „das Prügelschwingen machen“ paraphrasiert. Dann müßten die *m3.w* entsprechend die Hölzer sein, mit denen geschlagen wird, und die in die Höhe gehoben werden. Dazu paßt auch die Illustration dieser Szene²⁾. Dort erheben die *shn.w-3h*-Priester Stöcke der Form , die an die Gestalt der *3m3*-Keulen der Pyramidentexte erinnert³⁾. Bei den *m3*-Hölzern wird es sich daher um eine Sonderform dieser Keulen handeln, die in Pyr. § 274a, 1166a  und in Pyr. § 522c, 1374  geschrieben werden. Sie sind allerdings wohl kaum mit ihnen identisch, sondern werden dem *m3*-Holz entsprechen, das im Gerätefries der Särge des Mittleren Reichs⁴⁾ als Schlagholz  erscheint. Die Schrei-



¹⁾ SETHE, a.O. 100.

²⁾ SETHE, a.O. Taf. 21, Bild 24.

³⁾ SETHE, *Pyramidentexte*, Kommentar II, 403.

⁴⁾ JEQUIER, *Frise d'objects*, 1921, 161.

bung  ist dabei nur als kalligraphische Variante zu dem pluralischen  anzusehen ¹⁾.

Die SETHE'sche Ergänzung \Rightarrow  am Ende des Rezitationsvermerks von Z. 119, für die ja auch nicht genügend Platz vorhanden ist, muß daher ebenfalls abgeändert werden. Der Textzusammenhang läßt vermuten, daß eine Art bildlicher Vergleich der Gefolgschaft des Seth mit Ziegen ²⁾ vorliegt. Vielleicht soll angedeutet werden, daß die Gefolgsleute des Seth geprügelt werden sollen wie die richtungslos herumlaufenden Ziegen, die gewöhnlich auf ihr Hinterteil geschlagen werden. Dann müßte die Lücke zu einem Partizip \Rightarrow  ergänzt werden.

Die Szene 38 des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus des Mittleren Reichs schildert den agonalen Verlauf der Festfeier von Letopolis, die Herodot im 5. Jahrhundert noch gesehen hat. Das Festspiel, von dem wohl bereits im Spruch 469 der Pyramidentexte (§ 907-908) im Zusammenhang mit dem Einzug des Verstorbenen in den himmlischen Tempel berichtet wird, ist daher als uralt zu erweisen. Schon zu Beginn des 3. Jahrtausends mußte es gefeiert worden sein. Was war aber sein ursprünglicher Sinn?

Pyramidentexte und Dramatischer Ramesseumpapyrus stellen die Festfeier in Letopolis für Zwecke des Toten- und Königs-kults ganz in den Bereich der Osirismythe. Daß dieser Bezug auf Osiris aber sekundär ist, und bei den genannten Szenen des Ramesseumpapyrus ein altes Onurisritual die Vorlage gebildet haben mag, legt der Bericht des Herodot nahe. Nach ihm (II. 63) soll im Tempel von Papremis ursprünglich die Mutter des Ares gewohnt haben. Ares, der fern von ihr aufgewachsen sein soll, habe, als er zum Mann herangereift war, den Wunsch gehabt, seiner Mutter beizuwohnen. Er sei zu dem Tempel der Mutter vorgedrungen, wurde aber von ihren Dienern abgewiesen. Erst als er Verstärkung aus einer anderen Stadt geholt habe, sei ihm gelungen, sich ihr zu nähern.

Die dem Ritual zugrunde liegende Mythe wird von Herodot wahrscheinlich nicht ganz authentisch interpretiert. Doch läßt seine Erzählung zur Genüge erkennen, daß ihm von den Priestern die letopolitanische Version der Onurislegende vorgetragen wurde, die schon in alter Zeit mit der noch älteren, ursprünglichen Astralmythe vom Sehenden und Blinden Gott aus Letopolis verbunden wurde. Nach jener ursprünglichen Mythe ist der Hauptgott von Letopolis ein kosmischer Universalgott in Falkengestalt, der eine eigene Augensage besitzt.

¹⁾ Vgl. C.T. VI. 358 a.

²⁾ SETHE, UGAA 10, 1928, 225.

Ohne die beiden Augen ist er der blinde Gott Mechenti-irtj, mit den beiden Augen aber der sehende Chenti-irtj ¹⁾. Im dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus wird dargestellt, wie ihm als blindem Gott von einem Horus die beiden Augen dargebracht werden ²⁾. „Horus spricht Worte zu Mechenti-n-irtj: Nimm meine beiden Augen in dein Gesicht, damit du mit ihnen siehst.“

Durch diese Augensage, die in Letopolis heimisch ist, wird aber der kosmische, vorwiegend solare Gott unter dem Einfluß der religiösen Zentralisationsgedanken des Sonnenglaubens in den Bereich der Onurislegende gezogen. Das Auge wird ihm dann von Haroeris gebracht, das er als Onuris aus der Ferne geholt hat. Zwischen dem Sonnengott von Letopolis und dem für ihn kämpfenden Onurisdott Haroeris bildet sich dadurch ein Vater-Sohn-Verhältnis heraus.

Nach der Legende vom Sonnenaugen, das in der Ferne war ³⁾, entsteht dem Sonnengott im dargebrachten Auge eine Kultgenossin. In Letopolis heißt diese weibliche Gottheit „Hathor, Herrin von *Wrh*, Auge des Re in Letopolis“ ⁴⁾. Als Gemahlin des Sonnengottes ist sie entsprechend die Mutter des Haroeris-Onuris. Daher kann sie in Kom Ombos ⁵⁾ als „Hathor, Herrin von *Jj.t*, die in Letopolis verehrt wird . . . und die ihren Sohn beschützt“ bezeichnet werden.

Die Lehre von der verwandtschaftlichen Abhängigkeit des Haroeris von Hathor und dem Sonnengott, der in Letopolis in später Zeit Re oder Horus genannt werden kann, wird allerdings nicht immer streng durchgeführt. Bisweilen steht Haroeris auf gleicher genealogischer Stufe mit dem Sonnengott, dessen Funktion er sogar übernehmen kann. Nach den späten Texten ist er dann „Haroeris, Herr von *Jj.t* in Letopolis . . . aber auch Re im Westgebirge“ ⁶⁾.

Dadurch ergibt sich die merkwürdige Vorstellung, daß Haroeris als Sohn und Erbe des Sonnengottes Bringer des Sonnenauges ist, als Sonnengott aber zugleich Empfänger des dargebrachten Auges sein kann. Der Mythos wird dann so umgearbeitet, daß Haroeris als Onuris Gefahren bestehen und Feinde niederschlagen muß ⁷⁾, bevor er seinem Vater Haroeris in Letopolis das göttliche Auge überreicht, das in der heiligen Handlung der Übergabe sich in Hathor verwandelt, die sich mit dem Empfänger Haroeris vereint ⁸⁾.

Den Griechen, die mit einer solchen spekulativen Theologie nicht vertraut waren, mußte diese Mythe fremdartig klingen. Die Erklärung, die Herodot gibt, wird aber aus diesen Vorstellungen, die mit der letopolitanischen Onurislegende verbunden werden, verständlich.

¹⁾ JUNKER, *Der sehende und blinde Gott*, SBAW 1942, Heft 7.

²⁾ SETHE, a.O. 162.

³⁾ SETHE, UGAA 5, 1912, Heft 3.

⁴⁾ JUNKER, *Onurislegende*, 1917, 44.

⁵⁾ JUNKER, a.O. 44; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* Text II, 192.

⁶⁾ JUNKER, a.O. 26.

⁷⁾ JUNKER, a.O. 41, 150.

⁸⁾ JUNKER, a.O. 150.

Auch der Bericht des Herodot (II. 72) über den Nilpferdkult in Papremis paßt zu der Onurislegende von Letopolis. Denn gerade die Sage von Onuris als einem Jägerheros, der das Nilpferd erlegt, ist in Unterägypten geläufig¹⁾. Onuris jagt dort mit seiner Harpune das Nilpferd, das in später Zeit als Abbild des Seth gedacht wird.

Auf dieses Jagdgeschehen bezieht sich in der Horusmythe von Edfu ein dramatischer Text²⁾, der nach einer Überschrift, die als den Ort der Handlung Letopolis nennt, mit folgenden Worten beginnt: „Isis kam, indem sie das Nilpferd vorfand, das mit seinen Füßen auf trockenem Grund stand. Sie (?) machte (stark ?) sein Kampfschiff und ihren Sohn Horus.“ Horus wird durch die Worte seiner Mutter Isis ermutigt und zieht in den Kampf. Er tötet mit 8 Harpunen das Nilpferd, dessen Seiten weit aufgerissen werden. Das Rippenstück des erjagten Tieres wird herausgenommen und nach einem anderen Text der Horusmythe³⁾ als Jagdtrophäe im Heiligtum des Haroeris in Letopolis dargebracht. Damit wird rituell der endgültige Sieg des Horus über seinen Feind bekundet.

Das Erlegen des Nilpferds in Letopolis, das im Delta ursprünglich in einem Königsritual⁴⁾ am „Fest des weissen Nilpferdweibchens“ gefeiert worden sein mag und unter Umdeutungen in die Onurislegende aufgenommen wurde, paßt zu dem Bericht des Herodot (II. 72) über die Verehrung des Nilpferds in Papremis. Hinzu kommt, daß von ihm (II. 63) ein weiterer Festbrauch, der wohl mit der Sage von Haroeris-Onuris in Papremis zusammenhängt, so genau bis in die Details geschildert wird, daß er mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit mit bestimmten letopolitanischen Szenen des im osirianischen Sinne umgearbeiteten Königsrituals des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus verbunden werden darf. Die Etymologie von Papremis aus einer Landschaftsbezeichnung **p3-(n)-p3-rmwy* für den zweiten unterägyptischen Gau und seine Hauptstadt Letopolis scheint damit gesichert.

Letopolis-Papremis liegt kaum 35 km nördlich von Memphis an der Hauptstraße zu den Städten des nördlichen Westdeltas. Kurz vor Herodots Zeit (Herodot III. 12) stand auf dem dort strategisch günstigen Schlachtfeld am Rande der Wüste der Libyer Inaros mit seinem Heer den Persern gegenüber. Von seinem Hauptstützpunkt Marea im nördlichen Delta war er mit seinen aufständischen Ägyptern und athenischen Bundesgenossen gegen die von den Persern gehaltene Festung Memphis gezogen, um sich die Krone Ägyptens zu erobern. Die Perser, die in der Defensive waren, marschierten ihm entgegen

¹⁾ KEES, *Studi Rosellini* II, 1955, 143-152.

²⁾ BLACKMAN-FAIRMAN, JEA 29, 1943, 15-16 = CHASSINAT, *Edfou* VI, 74.

³⁾ JUNKER, a.O. 41 = CHASSINAT, *Edfou* V, 85, 86.

⁴⁾ KEES, a.O. 142.

und boten bei Papremis die Schlacht an (459 v. Chr.). Nach der dort erlittenen Niederlage mußten sie sich hinter die Mauern von Memphis zurückziehen, da Inaros folgte. Die Belagerung der Stadt blieb jedoch erfolglos. Damit war der Traum von einem neuen ägyptischen Königtum unter Inaros zu Ende.

Hamburg

HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER

EINE WETTERGOTT-STELE UND DREI RELIEFS IM MUSEUM ZU MARAŞ*

Als ich mich entschloss im Juni 1963 eine Forschungsreise in Anatolien zu machen, war meine Absicht einige hieroglyphisch-luvische Inschriften in den Museen zu Ankara, Kayseri, Adana und Gaziantep zu kollationieren. Dabei hatte meine Studentin Frä. DENİZ KORDEMİR mich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass es im Museum zu Maraş eine neu erworbene Stele mit Inschrift gäbe¹⁾. Daraufhin nahm ich auch Maraş in den Reiseplan auf. Tatsächlich stellte mir Herr NİHAT ERAY, der Direktor des genannten Museums, eine Stele und drei anderen Reliefs freundlich für meine Forschungen zur Verfügung. Hier sollen diese Werke vorgestellt werden²⁾.

1. Eine Wettergott-Stele mit hieroglyphisch-luvischer Inschrift auf der Rückseite, aus Kürtül (Basaltstein, 64 × 64 × 23 cm., Reliefhöhe 5 cm., Schrifthöhe 1 cm., Inventarnummer: 228), Tf. VII A.

Die Stele wurde von den Bauern während einer Ausgrabung von Bausteinen in einem Acker zwei Km. südöstlich vom Dorf Ismaili gefunden und im Jahre 1963 von dem genannten Direktor ins Museum gebracht. Die ganze Ortschaft vom Dorf Ismaili und seine nördliche Gegend heißen Kürtül. Das Dorf Ismaili liegt 27 Km. nordwestlich von Maraş (vgl. die Karte, Fig. 14).

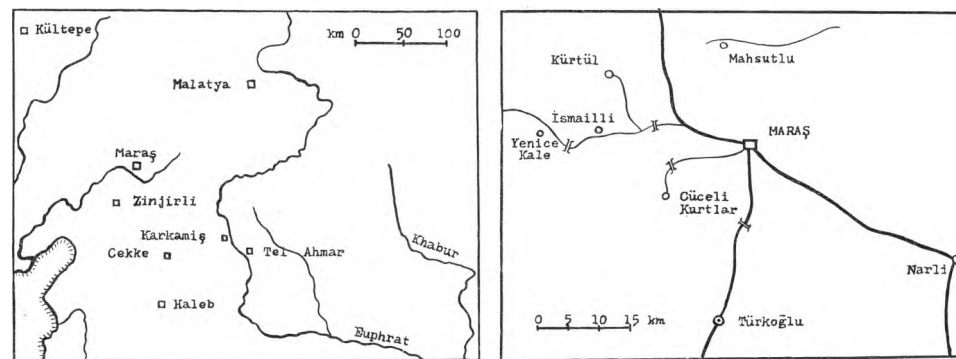


Fig. 14. Die Lage von Maraş, Ismaili und Kürtül.

* Dieser Beitrag wurde zum XIII. Internationalen Assyriologen Kongress (Paris, 1.-4. Juli 1964) vorgelesen.

¹⁾ Für ihre Aufmerksamkeit und Hilfe auf der Reise muss ich hier meinen herzlichsten Dank aussprechen.

²⁾ Der Generaldirektion der Museen, welche die Publikationsgenehmigung der Werke mir erteilt hat, und Herrn N. ERAY, der mir in Maraş immer beistand, danke ich in gleicher Weise.

Vorderseite: wie man auf Tf. VII A sieht, ist der untere Teil der Stele (ungefähr die Hälfte) abgebrochen. Der auf der Vorderseite im Hochrelief dargestellte Wettergott, mit einer Flügelsonnenscheibe über dem Kopf, hält in der rechten Hand eine Axt und in der Linken einen Blitzdreizack. Danach sollte unsere Stele dem Typus angehören, welcher von E. AKURGAL als „Typus des zu ebener Erde stehenden Wettergottes (a, d)“ genannt wird¹⁾. Hier verzichte ich auf eine ausführlichere Beschreibung von Einzelheiten, da über solche Typen viel diskutiert wird. Einen treffenden Vergleich könnte man am besten mit den Stelen aus Babylon (Tf. VII B 1; ohne Flügelsonnenscheibe) und aus Tell Ahmar (Tf. VII B 2) machen.

Rückseite: die hieroglyphisch-luvische Inschrift (Tf. VIII A, B).

Auf der halbgewölbten Rückseite der Stele sind vier Zeilen von einer hieroglyphisch-luvischen Inschrift erhalten. Unter dem 5. Zeilenstrich ist noch ein ganz kleiner Teil von der 5. Zeile erhalten geblieben. Dem Höhenmass und dem Typus des Werkes nach könnten ursprünglich noch wenigstens drei oder vier Zeilen vorhanden gewesen sein. Eine Aufnahme von meinem Abklatsch gebe ich hier in Tf. VIII B. Wie die Original- und Abklatschaufnahmen zeigen, ist die Inschrift an vielen Stellen der beschädigten Hinterfläche des Steines unlesbar. Soweit ich kann, werde ich mich bemühen einige Schlüsse daraus zu ziehen.

Die Inschrift fängt mit einer Vorstellungsformel, *amo-ma*, „ich (bin) fürwahr“ an, deren zweites Wort uns ihren Verfassernamen angeben soll. Das erste Zeichen des Namens ist *la* (M. 180). Das zweite, zerschlagene Zeichen könnte nur als *s* (M. 291) ergänzt werden. So steht vor uns ein Name, zu *Las[piā]* zu ergänzen, denn ein Personennamen mit der Vorsilbe *Las-* ist uns nur aus der Jekke-Inschrift bekannt. Tatsächlich gibt die Stelle Jekke B 7 den Namen Laspa aus der Stadt Irhanuar samt seinem Sohn *W-hu-i-s* an²⁾. Leider ist uns vorläufig die Stadt Irhanuar, aus der unsere Stele herrühren muss, aus keiner anderen Stelle bekannt. Durch diese Ergänzung, die ich wegen des deutlichen Restes des *s*-Zeichens für sicher halte, wird MERIGGI's Versuch einer anderen Lesung der genannten Stelle³⁾, Jekke B 7, beseitigt und ein Synchronismus zwischen beiden Inschriften ermöglicht. Der Verfasser der Jekke-Stele stellt sich als Diener des Sasturis (Sardur III. ca. 760-733) vor³⁾. Danach sollte auch unsere Ismaili-Stele in die Zeit von 760-733 datiert werden. Dabei ist es auffällig, dass die Jekke-Stele einen ganz anderen Typ von der Darstellung des Wettergottes gibt (Tf. VII B 3) und dass das Datum von 850 sich für die Babylon-Stele als *Terminus post quem* vorstellt⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Vgl. E. AKURGAL, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, (Ankara, 1949) S. 103.

²⁾ P. MERIGGI, *St. Cl. Or.* Vol. II P. 39.

³⁾ H. BOSSERT, *Zur Geschichte von Karkamisch*, *St. Cl. Or.* I, 1951, S. 35 ff. und S. 63; *idem* JKF II, 1953, S. 330.

⁴⁾ H. BOSSERT, *Das H.H. Wort für „Malstein“*, *Belleten* XVI S. 525. M. KALAÇ, *Babil Steli* (unpublizierte Dissertation), S. 5.

Das erste Wort der dritten Zeile lautet *ua-(h)ua*. Diese Schreibung kommt besonders auffällig in A 6.4, 6 zweimal vor und das Wort wird von BOSSERT als „weil“ und „was(?)“ übersetzt (St. Cl. Or. I, 46 Satz X, XIX), während MERIGGI es als „a quanto“ und „per(?) cio“ angibt (St. Cl. Or. II, 18). Das Zeichen M. 169 macht den Eindruck ein enklitisches Element zu sein, in dem ich die luvische enklitische Partikel *-kuua* sehen möchte (vgl. LAROCHE, *Dictionnaire*, S. 58). Die beste Belegstelle von *-kuua* ist KUB XXXV 103, II 4-5: *za-am-pa-ku-ua DUMU-ni-in ua-al-li-in-du ša-an-na-in-du*, „und (auch) dieses Kind mögen sie aufrichten(?) (in die Höhe bringen?) (und) pflegen (sorgsam hüten)“. Da die Parallelstelle *za-am-pa* (*zam* < *zan*, Demonstrativpronomen acc. sg. c. + *pa*) ohne *-kuua* schreibt, wie ROSENKRANZ (*Beiträge zur Erforschung des Luvischen* S. 92) bemerkt hat, soll *-kuua* nicht unbedingt erforderlich sein. Aus diesen Erwägungen aber kann man wenigstens entnehmen dass das Zeichen M 168, wie bis jetzt umstritten war, einen *ku*-Stamm besass und ihm demnach ein fonetischer Wert (*k*)*ua*, (*h*)*ua*, *ua* (in der späteren Zeit), aber nicht *hū* — bei LAROCHE, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* (Paris, 1960) 329, als Variant von 332 — zukam.

Wie bei der Babylon-Stele, ist auch unsere Inschrift eine Weihinschrift und sie soll nach einer näheren Untersuchung von einzelnen Wörtern zur Publikation gebracht werden. In Ismailli, an Ort und Stelle, werde ich im kommenden September untersuchen, ob bei dieser Ortschaft eine Siedlung mit einem (vermutlichen) Namen Irhanuar zu finden ist (s. Karte Fig. 14).

2. Ein Orthostat mit einer Bankettszene aus Maraş (schwarzer Basalt; Höhe 90 cm., Reliefhöhe 1 cm., Inventarnummer 229), Tf. IX A.

Das durch eine kleine Ausgrabung im Garten des Herrn MUSA KARAHAN, im Stadtviertel „Yörükselim“ erworbene Werk, wurde im Jahre 1963 ins Museum gebracht. Die Szene stellt ein Ehepaar dar, das an einem Tisch sitzt, worauf eine Ente liegt; darunter ein Esel. Solche Bankettszenen werden von AKURGAL als Ehepaarmotive gruppiert (Typus II, a.a.O., S. 120 ff., 153), wo Beispiele zum Vergleich zu finden sind. Ich bringe hier besonders das Relief mit Inschrift aus Malatya zum Vergleich (Tf. IX C), weil unser Orthostat Reste von drei Hieroglyphenzeichen über der linken Hand und dem Stirn des links sitzenden Königs aufweist (Tf. IX B). Wie man sieht, ist der Orthostat an allen Seiten abgebrochen. Leider fand sich kein weiteres Stück mehr im Garten, wo das Werk ausgegraben wurde. Eine grössere Ausgrabung ist deswegen nicht möglich, weil die Gegend jetzt überbaut ist.

3. Ein Bankettrelief mit drei Personen aus Maraş (Kalkstein, 60 × 85 × 21 cm., Reliefhöhe 1.8-2 cm., Inventarnummer 214), Tf. X A.

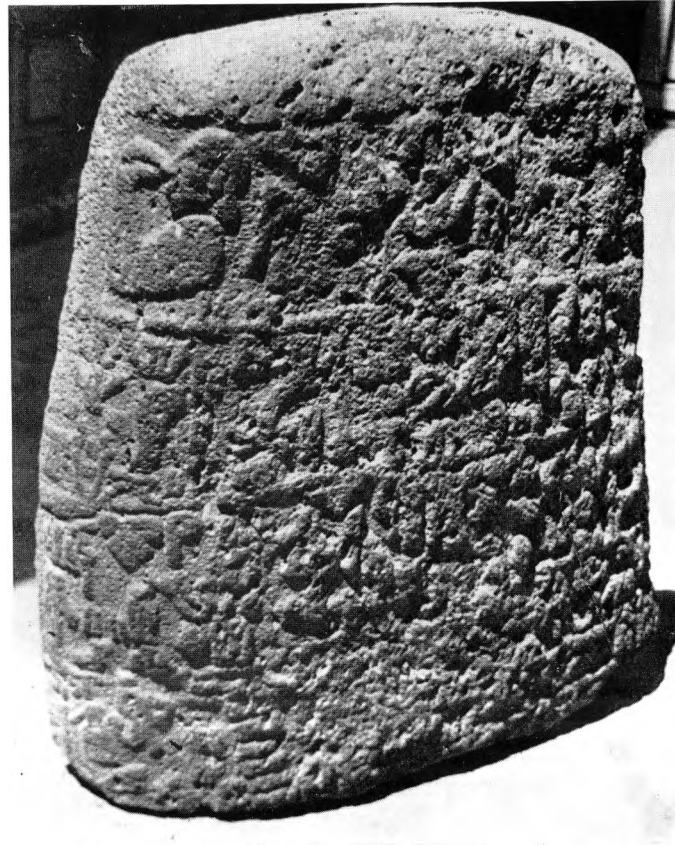
Das im Stadtviertel „Yörükselim“ gefundene Werk wurde im Jahre 1962



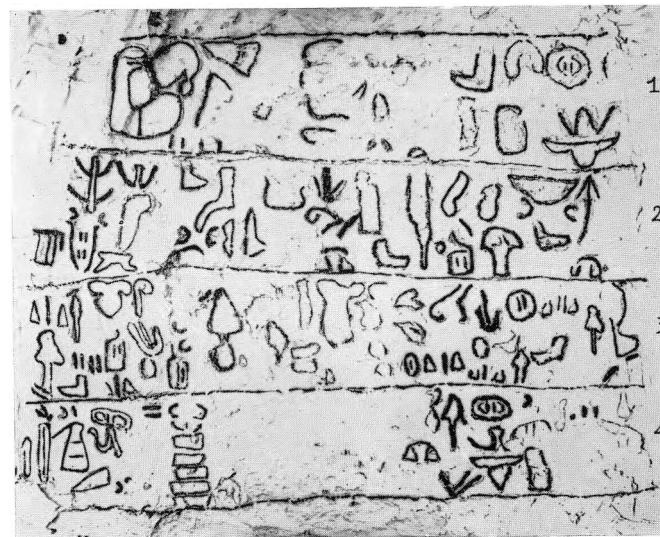
A. Wettergott-Stele mit hieroglyphisch-luvischer Inschrift auf der Rückseite aus Kürtül (Basalt; 64 × 64 × 23 cm., Museum zu Maraş, Inv. Nr. 228).



B. Drei Wettergott-Stelen:
1. aus Babylon; 2. aus Tell Ahmar; 3. aus Jekke.



A. Rückseite der Stele aus Kürtül mit hieroglyphisch-luvischer Inschrift.



B. Die hieroglyphisch-luvische Inschrift nach einer Aufnahme vom Abklatsch der Stele.



A. Orthostat mit Bankettszene aus Maraş (Basalt; Höhe 90 cm.; Museum zu Maraş, Inv. Nr. 229).



B. Reste von drei Hieroglyphen-Zeichen links oben auf dem Orthostat.



C. Relief mit Inschrift aus Malatya.



A. Bankettrelief mit drei Personen aus Maraş
(Kalkstein; 60 × 85 × 21 cm; Museum zu Maraş, Inv. Nr. 214).



B. Bankettrelief mit zwei Personen aus Maraş
(Kalkstein; 76 × 56 × 27 cm.; Museum zu Maraş, Inv. Nr. 215).

im Depot des HASAN ÖZGÖMEC in Sanayi Carsisi (Handwerkbazar) beschlagnahmt und ins Museum gebracht. Eine sitzende Frau vor einem Esstischchen umarmt ihr Kind und wird von ihrem Gatte verehrt.

4. Ein Bankettrelief mit zwei Personen aus Maraş (Kalkstein, 76 × 56 × 27 cm., Reliefshöhe 2 cm., Inventarnummer 215), Tf. X B.

Das Werk wurde zusammen mit dem vorher erwähnten gefunden und ins Museum überführt. Die Szene zeigt einen sitzenden Mann vor einem Esstischchen mit einer Ähre in der linken Hand. Sein Pfleger hinter ihm hält einen Fächer in der rechten Hand und ein Heft in der linken.¹⁾

Nach den Erwägungen AKURGALS (a.a.O., S. 119 ff.), sollen diese beiden letzten Reliefs Totenverehrungszenen darstellen und der ersten Gruppe von Bankettreliefs angehören. Ebenso sollen diese aramäischen oder aramäisierenden Bildwerke (a.a.O., S. 123) nicht den Orthostaten, sondern den Stelen zuzuteilen sein. Ich bin mir aber nicht sicher, ob auch unsere Werke ihren Einsatzzapfen hatten oder nicht doch Orthostaten sein könnten, obwohl sie Totenverehrungszenen darstellen.

Istanbul

M. KALAÇ

¹⁾ Ein weiteres Relief aus Maraş wurde im Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Vol. 58 (1960), Nr 313/4, S. 98 publiziert.

SHECHEM

HISTORY AND EXCAVATIONS OF A PALESTINIAN CITY

The city of Shechem played an important role in Biblical history, and its archaeological exploration has provided a most welcome background to its checkered past. Since the Netherlands have had a prominent part in supporting the excavations of Shechem during the pre-war years, with the result that thousands of objects discovered there have found their way to collections in the Netherlands, mainly in Leiden, it is only natural to present a brief survey of the history of exploration of that city and the archaeological and historical results derived from the excavations at Shechem in a periodical published in the Netherlands. The writer has therefore gladly accepted the invitation of Dr. A. A. KAMPMAN to present this article for the *Jaarbericht* of the "Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux" ¹⁾.

THE NAME SHECHEM

The city's name in Hebrew, *Shekém*, means "shoulder". In the Greek LXX the name is transliterated Συχεμ and Σιχυμα; in the Authorized Version of the English Bible it occurs usually as Shechem, to be pronounced Shékēm according to WEBSTER, although the most common pronunciation encountered is Shékēm. In the Amarna Letters it occurs as *Šakmi* ²⁾, in Egyptian records of the 12th Dynasty as *Škmm* ³⁾, and *Škmimi* ⁴⁾, while it is spelled *Škm* in the

¹⁾ Gratitude is herewith expressed to Professor G. ERNEST WRIGHT for reading this article in manuscript form and for helpful suggestions and corrections, also for his permission to discuss the results of the latest campaign before they are elsewhere published and for the inclusion of hitherto unpublished photographs from the expedition's files. The photographs, unless otherwise stated, are the products of the expedition's staff photographer, LEE C. ELLENBERGER. Thanks are also due to Professor F. M. TH. DE LIAGRE BÖHL, who kindly read the article and made helpful suggestions with regard to the pre-war expeditions in which he took part. He also kindly provided some earlier pictures here reproduced, and some hard-to-find literature.

²⁾ J. A. KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1915), No. 289, line 23; translation by W. F. ALBRIGHT, in ANET, p. 489.

³⁾ E. ERIC PEET, *The Stela of Sebek-khu* (Manchester, 1914), p. 8. For the identification with Shechem see W. M. MÜLLER, OLZ, 6 (1903), 448, 449; A. ALT, ZDPV, 64 (1941), 35, n. 5; R. DUSSAUD, Syria, 21 (1940), 172; ALBRIGHT, BASOR, No. 83 (Oct., 1941), p. 33; B. MAISLER, RHJE, 1 (1947), 46-47.

⁴⁾ G. POSENER, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels, 1940), p. 68; ALBRIGHT, BASOR, No. 81 (Febr., 1941), p. 18.

late Papyrus Anastasi ¹⁾. In the Samaria ostraka of the 8th cent. B.C. the name occurs as *Škm* ²⁾.

SHECHEM IN THE BIBLE

Shechem is the first Canaanite city mentioned in the Bible, since it was the first stopping place of Abraham after arriving in Canaan. It was there that he pitched his camp and erected an altar to Yahweh (Gen. 12 : 6, 7). Also Jacob, after his return from Paddan-aram, settled in the vicinity of Shechem and bought a piece of land there, according to one source, where Joseph was later buried (Gen. 33 : 18, 19; Josh. 24 : 32), while according to another source Jacob obtained property at Shechem by force of arms (Gen. 48 : 22). During the time that Jacob sojourned at Shechem it is said that his sons Simeon and Levi with their followers massacred the male population of that city in revenge for the defiling of their sister Dinah by the prince of Shechem (Gen. 34 : 25-29). Jacob condemned this action and, fearing reprisals from the surrounding people, moved to another part of the country (Gen. 34 : 30; 35 : 3, 5; 49 : 5-7). However, not long afterward the sons of Jacob apparently felt that it was safe to return to that area, for they are said to have later pastured their father's flocks near Shechem (Gen. 37 : 12, 13).

During the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites Shechem is not mentioned among the conquered cities, but the fact that the Israelites could hold a great rally on the slopes of the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim (Josh. 8 : 30, 33), between which Shechem was located, shows that the city was either friendly to the Israelites or awe-stricken by Israelite victories so that it did not molest them. In the distribution of the country among the Israelite tribes Shechem seems to have been assigned to Manasseh, but lay close to the border of Ephraim (Josh. 17 : 7). It was furthermore assigned as a residence city to the Kohathite Levites and a city of refuge (Josh. 20 : 7; 21 : 21). Joshua's farewell address was delivered while the nation was gathered at Shechem for the renewal of the covenant with Yahweh. To seal this ceremony Joshua is said to have erected a stone pillar under the oak in the local sanctuary (Josh. 24 : 1-28). From this and several other Biblical references it seems certain that the city was an important religious center in early Israel, and that more than once ceremonies took place there in which the covenant was renewed ³⁾.

During the period of the judges Shechem gained a questionable fame as the

¹⁾ Alan H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts; Series I: Literary Texts of the New Kingdom* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 23, col. 21, line 5; translation by J. A. WILSON in ANET, p. 477.

²⁾ Ostrakon, No. 44; D. DIRINGER, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), pp. 32, 55. On the dating of the ostraca see now YIGAL YADIN, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 8 (1961), 17-25, and F. M. CROSS, Jr., BASOR, No. 165 (Febr. 1962), p. 35.

³⁾ See MARTIN NOTH, *The History of Israel* (2d ed.; New York, 1960), pp. 91 ff.

capital of the short-lived kingdom of Abimelech, a son of Gideon by his concubine. After his father's death Abimelech, assisted by the Shechemites, made himself king. His coronation took place at the oak of the pillar at Shechem, probably belonging to the temple of Ba'al-berith, "the Ba'al of the Covenant" (Judg. 9 : 1-6). Later his fellow citizens turned against him, whereupon he retaliated by destroying their city and the fortress-like temple of Ba'al-berith (Judg. 9 : 23-57). The city again became important in the period of the kings. It was there that ten of the tribes of Israel rejected Rehoboam, Solomon's son, as king and crowned Jeroboam instead (1 Kings 12 : 1-19). The new king fortified the city and used it for some time as his capital (v. 25). Later, it seems to have lost some of its importance when first Tirzah and finally Samaria became successively the capitals of the country. It is mentioned last in the Old Testament as an inhabited place by Jeremiah after the destruction of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (Jer. 41 : 5).

In New Testament times, when the city as such did not exist any longer, a small village seems to have been located at the site which in John 4 : 5 is called Sychar. Most scholars believe now that this reading is a textual error for Shechem¹⁾. It was at Jacob's Well, close to the site of ancient Shechem, that Jesus had a memorable discussion about living water with the Samaritan woman, as recorded in the fourth Gospel (John 4 : 5-26).

SHECHEM IN ANCIENT NON-BIBLICAL SOURCES

The earliest mention of Shechem is found in a stele of Khu-Sebek, discovered by JOHN GARSTANG at Abydos in 1901. It contains an autobiography of a man who took part in a military campaign to Asia conducted by the Egyptian King Sesostri III (1878-1840 B.C.) of the 12th Dynasty. During this campaign "Škmm fell, together with vile Retjenu." The main reason for recording the campaign on the stele was the fact that Khu-Sebek led the rear guard and was personally engaged in some fighting which yielded him a royal distinction²⁾. After the discovery of this stele MAX MÜLLER identified Škmm with Shechem in central Palestine, but this identification was rejected by other scholars³⁾ until the discovery of the Egyptian Execration texts. Since that time it has been accepted by all scholars who have worked on these texts.

Another mention of Shechem during the Middle Kingdom is found in the series of Execration Texts published in 1940 by G. POSENER. In these texts in which African and Asiatic enemies of Egypt are cursed, "Ibshddw, prince of

¹⁾ ALBRIGHT, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (3d ed., Harmondsworth, 1960), pp. 247, 248.

²⁾ See p. 284, n. 3.

³⁾ PEET, *op. cit.*, p. 21; JAMES H. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1906), I, 303, note b.

Škmimi" (with the variants Škmim, and Škmmi) is mentioned¹⁾. W. F. ALBRIGHT has proposed that the name should be vocalized *Sakmâmi* or *Sakmêmi*, meaning "Two shoulders"²⁾. This would fit the region of Biblical Shechem, for the city was dominated by Ebal and Gerizim, two prominent mountains of central Palestine. It is the consensus of scholars who have discussed the Execration Texts to identify Škmimi with the Biblical Shechem³⁾.

For several centuries following the production of the Execration Texts there is complete silence about Shechem in non-Biblical sources, until we come to the Amarna Letters of the 14th century B.C. Only once does the name Shechem occur in these letters, namely in one written by 'Abdu-Heba, king of Jerusalem, who asks the Egyptian king, "Shall we do like Lab'ayu, who gave the land of Shechem (Šakmi) to the 'Apiru?" However, from other letters we learn something of Lab'ayu, who evidently was the ruler of Shechem. He is depicted as disloyal to Egypt, although in his own letters he assured the Pharaoh of his loyalty. He appears also to have been an enemy of other city states, since he was able to control much of the central hill country of Palestine, and therefore was their natural rival. When he was finally killed by treachery at Megiddo, his sons continued his wicked activities, which in the eyes of their contemporaries consisted mainly in their association with the hated 'Apiru⁴⁾. In spite of much discussion concerning the 'Apiru, it is still not entirely certain whether they were attackers who had come from outside the country, or homeless bandits roaming through the country. It is certain, however, that the 'Apiru had conquered Palestinian cities, and that many princes considered

¹⁾ See p. 284, n. 4.

²⁾ ALBRIGHT, BASOR, No. 81 (Febr. 1941), p. 18, n. 11.

³⁾ See p. 284 n. 4. Professor DE LIAGRE BÖHL has pointed out that the Škmm of the Khu-Sebek stele, as well as the Škmimi (and variants) of the Execration Texts, as dual forms probably refer to two sites, Shechem and Migdal (Tower of) Shechem, one lying at the eastern entrance and the other on the western entrance of the pass between the mountains Ebal and Gerizim. In this way he explains the fact that Judges 9 : 44-49 seems to indicate that the two sites lay at some distance from each other. He sees in *Tell Sufar* west of Nablus (Palestine Map 1 : 20,000, *Tell es-Sufan*, coördinate 181.700 : 173.200), one of the two places and in *Tell Balâtah* the other. See his *Palestina in het licht der jongste opgravingen en onderzoekingen* (Amsterdam, 1931), pp. 65-67. Pottery picked up from that tell by E. F. CAMPBELL, Jr. in Sept. 1964, then acting director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, shows the site to have been occupied from the 10th cent. B.C. until Roman times, but no pottery from the period of the judges was found. I thank Professor CAMPBELL for permission to mention this fact. Only an excavation of *Tell Sufar* can show whether the conclusions drawn from surface pottery are correct, and whether that site was occupied also in the time of King Abimelech. See also *Postscript* on p. 306.

⁴⁾ For a discussion of Lab'ayu and the role he played in Palestine according to the Amarna Letters, see OTTO WEBER in KNUDTZON, *op. cit.*, II, 1312-1317; FRANZ BÖHL, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 94; WALTER HARRELSON, BA, 20 (1957), 6-8; and now also E. F. CAMPBELL, Jr., in Appendix 2 of G. E. WRIGHT's book *Shechem*, mentioned in p. 294, n. 6.

them a threat to their states, for which reason they turned to Egypt for military help. The loss of the "land of Shechem," which seems to have been turned over to the 'Apiru without a battle, was therefore considered a serious matter. It shows that Shechem with its dependent land must have had a great importance at that time.

In the 13th century another mention is made of Shechem, although this reference raises more questions than can be answered. In the satirical letter contained in the Papyrus Anastasi I, a well-traveled Egyptian courier asks the following question: "Where does the mountain of Shechem come?"¹⁾ The mountain of Shechem is here mentioned between the cities of Acre and Achshaph on the one hand and Hazor and Hamath on the other. To locate the mountain of Shechem the context offers no help since the cities mentioned lie all much farther to the north than the Biblical Shechem. Furthermore, there is no certainty that the writer of the satirical letter refers to the central Palestinian city of Shechem, since he speaks of a mountain by that name, but of such a mountain nothing is known from any other source.

Another reference to Shechem is found in the ostraca discovered during the excavations of Samaria, which are receipts of oil and wine by the crown, written during the 8th century B.C. Along with other cities belonging to the territory of the tribe of Manasseh, Shechem occurs as the city of origin of a shipment of wine²⁾.

Of the later history of Shechem not much is known from ancient sources. Josephus states that in the time of Alexander the Great Shechem (called *Sikima* in Greek) was the chief city of the Samaritans, that it lay beside Mt. Gerizim, and that it was inhabited by apostates from the Jewish nation³⁾. Jesus Sirach, the Jewish author of Ecclesiasticus, calls the inhabitants of Shechem a "foolish people" (Ecclus. 50 : 26). The final destruction of the city by the Jewish King John Hyrcanus is also recorded by Josephus⁴⁾.

THE LOCATION OF SHECHEM

The city of Shechem was located about 40 miles north of Jerusalem between two of the highest mountains of central Palestine, Ebal in the north, and Gerizim, the holy mountain of the Samaritans, in the south. It lay at one of the most important crossings of two main roads in the country, (1) the road running from the south over the ridge of the Judean and Samaritan mountains toward the north, and (2) the only west-east road of central Palestine which led from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan Valley (PL. XII A). Shechem thus

¹⁾ See p. 285, n. 1.

²⁾ See p. 285, n. 2.

³⁾ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xi. 8.6. For a discussion of this passage and of the history of Shechem during the Hellenistic period, see G. ERNEST WRIGHT, *Harvard Theological Review*, 55 (1962), 357-366.

⁴⁾ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiii. 9.1.

owed its political and probably also its religious importance to this favorable strategic location. It also was fortunate to possess to the east of the city a wide and fertile plain which made it possible for a large population to exist.

Until recent times it was thought that ancient Shechem was buried underneath the modern city of Nablus (a corruption of Neapolis), founded by Vespasian *ca.* A.D. 72¹⁾. The excavations of the last fifty years have proved, however, that Shechem lay at Tell *Balâṭah*, some two miles east of Nablus, near two traditional sites connected with Biblical history, the Tomb of Joseph and Jacob's Well. The modern village of *Balâṭah* lies around a copious spring and covers about half of the ancient mound.

THE HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION

The modern exploration of Shechem started with the discovery of its site on June 26, 1903. On that day two German explorers, H. THIERSCH and G. HÖLSCHER, camped east of Nablus, and discovered under the village of *Balâṭah* a *tell* with part of an ancient city wall protruding from its surface. They recognized in this site the location of the ancient city of Shechem, and did not fail to mention their discovery in their published reports²⁾.

In 1908 a chance discovery made by the villagers of *Balâṭah* gave an indication of the treasures which the mound might hide. This discovery consisted of a hoard of bronzes found during the excavations for the foundations of a private house. Among them was a beautiful bronze sickle sword (*harṣē*), 45 cm. long, inlaid with gold, six daggers (from 17 to 35 cm. long), several spear points, buckles, and what seems to be a stamp for branding animals. This valuable hoard of bronzes was later acquired by F. W. Freiherr VON BISSING, and for many years was part of the collection of the Museum Lunsingh-Scheurleer in The Hague, Netherlands³⁾. When this collection was dissolved, the bronzes from Shechem found their way to the "Ägyptische Staatssammlung München"⁴⁾.

The First Excavations in 1913 and 1914. Excavations at Tell *Balâṭah* began

¹⁾ See for example EDWARD ROBINSON in his *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (Boston, 1856), II, 287 ff, who quotes ancient and more recent sources for his view that Shechem lay at the site of Nablus.

²⁾ H. THIERSCH and G. HÖLSCHER, MDOG, No. 23 (Sept. 1904), pp. 34-35; HÖLSCHER, ZDPV, 33 (1910), 101; J. HEMPEL, ZAW, 51 (1933), 157-158.

³⁾ R. A. S. MACALISTER, Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund, 41 (1909), 74; BÖHL and F. W. Freiherr VON BISSING, Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel 62, Serie B, 1926, pp. 16, 20-24; CARL WATZINGER, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, I (Leipzig, 1933), pls. 24, 26.

⁴⁾ Gratitude is herewith expressed to Professor DE LIAGRE BÖHL for having obtained for the present writer information concerning the present location of these bronzes. It is the hope that these bronzes will be republished and appropriately discussed in the forthcoming final publication of the excavation results of the Shechem expedition. In the "Ägyptische Staatssammlung München" they are listed under the numbers 2907-2920.

in 1913 and continued in 1914 under the direction of ERNST SELLIN, at that time professor at the University at Kiel, Germany. SELLIN who had already conducted excavations at Ta'anach and at Jericho, was at that time one of the most experienced excavators in Palestine, although his archaeological methods were poor in comparison to modern standards. During the short 1913 campaign of less than three weeks (Sept. 4-20) the work was carried out with native laborers, who ranged from 12 to 100 in number. During the 1914 campaign, which lasted for six weeks (March 26 to May 7), an average of 150 workmen were employed. SELLIN's architectural assistant in both campaigns was Professor C. PRASCHNIKER of Vienna (PL. XI A); in the 1914 campaign he also had the help of Dr. A. GROHMANN ¹⁾.

In 1913 SELLIN started his excavations at the rock wall, which for a length of more than 15 m. and a height of 2.55 m. protruded from the surface of the *tell*. This wall was followed for about 60 m. in a northerly direction and was found to have a preserved height of *ca.* 6.50 m., consisting of some nine rows of huge stones, of which many were more than 2 m. in length. He found that the wall rested on an artificial fill and had a batter. The debris outside the wall was considered to be the disintegrated upper part of the city wall which had consisted of unbaked bricks. SELLIN thought that the wall had been built by the Canaanites, but had remained in use during the Israelite period. Furthermore, he found a second wall, 1.45 m. thick, running parallel to the former wall at a distance of 7.50 m. At the northern end of these two walls two towers were laid bare which later turned out to belong to the Northwest Gate of the city.

With regard to the outside wall, generally referred to as the Cyclopean Wall of Shechem, it can be said that to the present day no better preserved monumental city wall of ancient Palestine has come to light. It is still a unique ancient monument and gives every visitor a good picture of the tremendously strong Canaanite fortifications of the 2d millennium B.C. Although the boulders with which the wall was built were not dressed, they were nevertheless nicely laid in courses, and the spaces between them were filled with smaller stones in such a way that a well-constructed city wall was the result. Channels were put into the wall to drain off the rain water.

SELLIN also dug an exploratory trench of 5 m. width which ran for 52 m. from north to south through the northern part of the mound. Digging down to a depth of 6.50 m., he distinguished four strata which he labeled from top to bottom as Hellenistic, Late Israelite, Early Israelite and Canaanite.

¹⁾ Only the following two brief reports were published on the campaigns of 1913 and 1914: E. SELLIN, *Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, vol. 51, No. VII (March 4, 1914), pp. 35-40, 2 pls.; No. XVIII (July 8, 1914), pp. 204-207.

In the 1914 season SELLIN and PRASCHNIKER completely excavated the Northwest Gate, which proved to be 17 m. wide and 18 m. long. This gate structure consisted of three pairs of towers with doors between them, and two courts separating the three pairs of towers. Huge monoliths were used to protect the lower parts of the towers. On both sides of the courts ran stairwells. During World War I this gate structure, of which the walls and towers were quite well preserved, was unfortunately used by the local people of *Balâṭah* as a stone quarry, with the result that now no more is visible of this formidable structure than the bare foundations and some formless wall stumps.

During the 1914 season several new trenches were dug, one that ran for 45 m. in an east-westerly direction, and two others branching out from this main trench, one to connect with the city gate, and another one to run toward the south. In one of these trenches SELLIN believed that he had laid bare part of a palace; he also found a street and an ancient stairway.

Among the objects discovered during the two seasons was a large jar containing more than 850 arrowheads, a small jar with about 200 broken pieces of silver jewelry, many objects of bronze, bone and stone, and also numerous well-preserved pottery vessels, besides sherds from all periods of Shechem's colorful history ¹⁾.

Four Seasons of Excavations in 1926 and 1927. After an interruption of twelve years, caused by World War I and the monetary inflation in Germany following the war, SELLIN was finally able to resume excavations in 1926. Some funds for that year had been raised by the Methodist bishop H. M. DU BOSE of Winston-Salem in North Carolina; others came from German sources, but the largest amount was provided by the "Sichem-Comité" organized in the Netherlands for that purpose ²⁾. SELLIN conducted two campaigns in both years, digging in 1926 for 19 weeks (from March 24 to May 3 and from June 17 to Sept. 13), and in 1927 for 12 weeks (from March 10 to April 15 and from Aug. 5 to Sept. 22). In 1926 the working force numbered from 150-200, but this number was reduced to 100 during the summer campaign in 1927, when a hand-operated railroad facilitated the transport of debris ³⁾.

¹⁾ SELLIN's share of these objects, about 450 in number, came to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. In the upheavals caused by the last war they seemed to have been lost. However, thanks to the industry and helpful interest of Dr. EGON KOMORZYNSKI, director of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, most of these objects have been relocated and catalogued. The present writer has been assigned to publish them in connection with the final publication of the Shechem expedition.

²⁾ The last chairman of the "Sichem-Comité" was the late Dr. J. TH. DE VISSER, Minister of Education of the Netherlands.

³⁾ Preliminary reports of the 1926 and 1927 campaigns written by SELLIN appeared in ZDPV, 49 (1926), 229-236, 304-320 and pls. 29-43; 50 (1927), 205-211, 265-274 and pls. 11-30; and by BÖHL. *De opgraving van Sichem* (Zeist, 1927), 40 pp.; *Palestina in het licht der jongste opgravingen*, pp. 41, 42, 61-67, 102-112 and illustr. 44-64. Some additional

Professor F. M. Th. BÖHL from the Netherlands acted as the representative of the "Sichem Comité" and served as SELLIN's assistant during both campaigns in 1926 and in the summer of 1927. Also C. PRASCHNIKER, SELLIN's pre-war associate, joined the staff again for a short period. Newcomers on the staff were Dr. GABRIEL WELTER, representative of the German Archaeological Institute, a professional archaeologist from Aegina, Greece, and HEINZ JOHANNES as architect ¹⁾. FRANZ DATODI was employed as chief supervisor of the workmen. He was a German-Italian from Haifa and had already previously acted in a similar capacity during the excavations of Jericho, Samaria, and in the 1913-14 excavations at Shechem (PL. XI B).

During these four campaigns a great amount of earth was moved, trenches were dug in various directions, and dump heaps had to be shifted repeatedly, when it was noticed that they covered up important areas that needed investigation. Some important discoveries were made, among which was a formidable building, 26.30 × 21.20 m. in size, that was identified with the temple of *Ba'al-berith*, mentioned in Judges, chapter nine (PL. XIII A, B). SELLIN also uncovered a large area to the east and northeast of the temple, which contained several buildings and parts of a strong wall (2.50 m. thick). He interpreted the area as being the sacred precinct of the temple and the wall as its *temenos* wall. Structures excavated to the east and west of the Northwest Gate were considered to be part of the city's palace. By cutting into *Tell Balâṭah* from the east, a city wall was discovered which was followed for 35 m. to the south, where it ended in the East Gate (PL. XIV). Of this gate only the northern half was excavated by WELTER, because the concession ended at the middle of that gate. An important trench was dug in the courtyard of SALIM, a blind sheikh, for it had been during the excavations made for the foundations of his house in 1908 that the valuable bronze hoard had been found, which has been mentioned above. This trench produced some very interesting small finds, among which the most important were two cuneiform tablets of the 15th century B.C. ²⁾.

The nature of the various structures and buildings excavated will be discussed below in connection with the discussion of the work recently carried

information can be gained from the following article, which is rich in some details of human interest: DE LIAGRE BÖHL, JEOL, No. 12 (1951-1952), pp. 171-179.

¹⁾ For shorter periods the following assistants took part in the work: KURT GALLING, TH. L. W. VAN RAVESTEYN, A. VAN SELMS, and the architects R. C. MAUVE and O. HECK.

²⁾ The cuneiform tablets were first published by BÖHL (ZDPV, 49 [1926], 321-327 and pls. 44, 45), who recognized one of them to be a list of individuals and the other to be an importunate begging letter. Albright later republished this letter (BASOR, No. 94 [Apr., 1944], pp. 12-27), but considered it to be a communication of a teacher to the parents of one of his pupils. BÖHL in a brief note (JEOL, No. 12 [1951-1952], pp. 177, 178), indicates that he disagrees with ALBRIGHT's interpretation. For the latest treatment see CAMPBELL in Appendix 2 of WRIGHT's *Shechem* (see p. 294, n. 6).

out by the American expeditions of the last few years. Of the small finds made during this period special mention should be made of 14 pieces of gold jewelry ¹⁾, two perfectly preserved molds for the casting of weapons and metal tools, some small altars, scarabs, seals, and the usual utensils of metal, bone, and stone, besides an unusual number of unbroken pottery vessels ²⁾, which gives reason to suspect that the workman of SELLIN uncovered some ancient graves without recognizing them as such.

The Excavations from 1928 to 1934. SELLIN returned to *Balâṭah* in 1928 for a short session of five weeks (March 10 to April 12), during which time he cleared a large area of its overlying dump, and further studied several structures previously excavated. He erected two standing stones (both were broken) in their original sockets which he had found in front of the temple, considering them to be *maššeboth*, pillars used in ancient times for cultic purposes ³⁾.

The direction of the excavations was then taken over by Dr. GABRIEL WELTER, who had been SELLIN's architectural and archaeological associate. WELTER dug a number of trenches in 1928 ⁴⁾ to probe the substructures of the temple and the western fortifications. He also made some excellent plans and sectional drawings. Later, in 1931 or 1932, he excavated a Middle Bronze Age villa (considered by WELTER a temple) on one of the lower spurs of Mount Gerizim. WELTER published little of his work ⁵⁾, and seems not to have kept records of the objects found. In fact it is difficult to ascertain what he did most of the time after 1928 at Shechem. By 1933 the authorities of the German Archaeological Institute recalled WELTER, who had forced SELLIN out of the excavation in 1928, and reinstated SELLIN as director of the Shechem excavations ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ This set of gold jewelry, lost together with the cuneiform tablets in 1943 when SELLIN's house was destroyed in Berlin, formed the subject of a special treatment by SELLIN in ZDPV, 66 (1943), 20-24. A picture of the 14 pieces is found in ZDPV, 49 (1926), p. 30.

²⁾ SELLIN's share of the objects found, several thousand in number, have mostly found their way to the Netherlands and are now in the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden at Leiden. It is planned to publish them as a joint publication of the Leiden Museum and the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition in the expedition's forthcoming series of final reports.

³⁾ SELLIN, ZDPV, 51 (1928), 119-123 and pls. 8-12. SELLIN had found three sockets, but only two of the three *maššeboth* which had originally belonged to the sockets.

⁴⁾ From a personal letter I learn that Prof. BÖHL also took part in the season of 1928.

⁵⁾ Aside from newspaper articles WELTER seems to have published only two articles of his excavations: G. WELTER, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 4 (1928), 316-317; *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts, 1932, Nos. III/IV, cols. 289-314. The archive of the Palestine Archaeological Museum contains three typewritten reports of WELTER, which claim to present the "Status of the Excavations of 1928, 1929, 1931 and 1932," but which actually contain little information that was not incorporated in the two brief published articles already mentioned. See also the article "Unearthing a City Walled to Heaven," in *Illustrated London News*, No. 4861 (June 18, 1932).

⁶⁾ On the SELLIN-WELTER controversy see H. THIERSCH, ZAW, 50 (1932), 77-78;

SELLIN then conducted one more brief campaign of six weeks in 1934¹⁾. The "Sichem-Comité" of the Netherlands once more supported this work with a subvention. SELLIN's associate was Dr. HANS STECKEWEH, who had received some training in Palestinian archaeology and pottery identification by joining ALBRIGHT's excavation at Bethel²⁾. A beginning was made with a stratigraphical excavation of a new area east of the Northwest Gate. In the process of this work the Hellenistic strata and part of the Iron Age levels were removed. Among the artifacts found, there was a fragmentary stone plaque containing part of a sculpture and several characters of an inscription in Proto-Semitic script³⁾.

First economic and political reasons and later the outbreak of World War II prevented SELLIN from continuing his work at Shechem. All his excavation records, manuscripts, and many artifacts found at Shechem were destroyed when SELLIN's house was completely demolished during a bombing raid over Berlin in the autumn of 1943. Professor ERNST SELLIN died December 31, 1945 in Thuringia, Germany⁴⁾.

The American Excavations from 1956-1964. After an interval of 22 years archaeologists turned again to Shechem to solve the *tell's* riddles. This time it was an American expedition conceived and directed by G. ERNEST WRIGHT, at that time Professor at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, and later of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts⁵⁾. Sponsored by Drew University of Madison, New Jersey, McCormick Theological Seminary, and the American Schools of Oriental Research, and supported by several other institutions and foundations, the expedition is known as the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition to Shechem⁶⁾.

In 1956 WRIGHT with a small staff of three members and 85 laborers worked for three weeks (Aug. 6-24). The first season was planned as a preliminary

SELLIN, ZAW, 50 (1932), 303-308; J. HEMPEL, ZAW, 51 (1933), 156-169; SELLIN, ZDPV, 64 (1941), 1-2.

¹⁾ SELLIN and H. STECKEWEH, ZDPV, 64 (1941), 1-20, pls. 1-4.

²⁾ ALBRIGHT, BASOR, No. 56 (Dec. 1934), p. 2; *The Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 45-46.

³⁾ BÖHL, ZDPV, 61 (1938), 1-25 and pl. 1.

⁴⁾ According to a letter of Mrs. ERIKA SCHNELLER, née SELLIN (Prof. SELLIN's daughter) to the writer, of Nov. 22, 1960. See also the obituary of SELLIN, written by O. EISSFELDT, in AfO, 15 (1945-1951), 189.

⁵⁾ WRIGHT had been a student of W. F. ALBRIGHT, the great American orientalist and famous Biblical archaeologist, and had taken part in Albright's excavations at Bethel. He had worked on ELIHU GRANT's material excavated at Beth-shemesh and prepared it for publication, had been for almost two decades the editor of the Biblical Archeologist, co-author of the *Westminster Atlas to the Bible*, and author of numerous articles and some books in the field of Biblical studies and archaeology.

⁶⁾ A semi-popular account of the history of the Shechem expeditions and their results up to the 1962 season has been published by the director in book form: G. E. WRIGHT, *Shechem, the Biography of a Biblical City* (New York, 1965), 270 pp., 113 illustrations.

probe to ascertain whether the site would warrant more extensive excavations. This exploration work was confined to the East Gate (Field I; PL. XIV). Combining keen stratigraphic observations with a thorough knowledge of the pottery evidence, the main history of the East Gate was established in this brief period of three weeks, and plans were laid for at least three more campaigns on a large scale¹⁾.

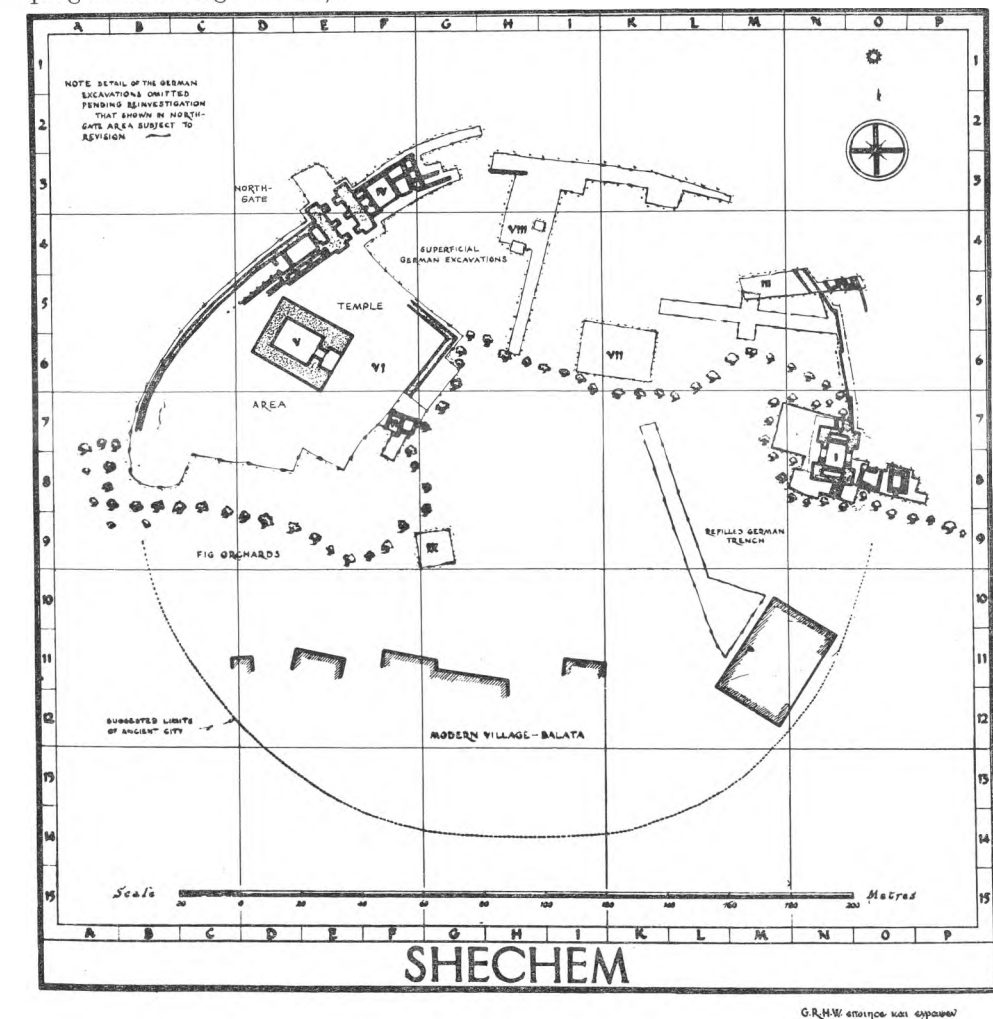


Fig. 15. Plan showing the main features of *Tell Balâṭah* (Shechem). Items containing the Roman numerals I-IX designate the "fields" excavated by the Drew-McCormick Expedition from 1956-1964 (Drawn by G. R. H. WRIGHT).

¹⁾ On the first American expedition, in which WRIGHT was assisted by DEAN B. W. ANDERSON and ROBERT J. BULL, both of Drew University, see WRIGHT, BASOR, No.

Four more campaigns have since taken place, and the discoveries of the campaign of the summer of 1964, which was scheduled to be the last, were of such a nature that it seems desirable to have one further season of excavations. In 1957 work was conducted with a staff of 27¹⁾ for six weeks (July 4 to Aug. 16). Approximately 190 laborers were employed. The excavation of the East Gate (Field I; see Fig. 15) was continued, a trench probing the defensive system of Shechem at the northeast side was cut into the mound (Field III), a Hellenistic house was excavated (Field II), and some exploratory work was done at two other areas (Fields IV and V)²⁾.

During the third campaign in 1960, the work was again carried on for six weeks (July 1 to Aug. 13) with about 165 laborers and a staff of 32. Excavations were especially concentrated on the great Temple of Ba'al (Field V), the adjoining sacred area (Field VI, at that time thought to be a palace), and on a new area which had been a residential quarter of the ancient city (Field VII, PL. XV A, B), while a minor excavation explored the stratigraphy of an old SELLIN trench (Field VIII)³⁾.

During the seven weeks of the 1962 campaign (June 25 to Aug. 10) the excavations were carried out by 190 laborers under the direction of a staff of 38. The work at the Temple (Field V) was completed, as well as most of the exploration of the adjoining sacred area (Field VI), of which the true character was at that time recognized. The work in the residential quarter (Field VII, PL. XV A) was continued to the level of the 9th century B.C. and another residential area (Field IX) was opened at a site closest to the present village and its water source⁴⁾.

In the summer of 1964 a campaign of ten weeks (June 29 to Sept. 3) was conducted with a staff of 33 and about 200 laborers (PL. XI c). Attempts were

144 (Dec., 1956), pp. 9-20; W. HARRELSON, B. W. ANDERSON and WRIGHT, BA, 20 (1957), 1-32.

¹⁾ No useful purpose would be served by mentioning all 55 names of the staff members who took part during only one or two of the five campaigns. As an exception to this rule Dr. HANS H. STECKEWEH must be mentioned. He participated in the 1957 campaign and thus formed a link with the pre-war excavations of SELLIN. Otherwise only names of those staff members will be mentioned who participated in four seasons: O. R. SELLERS, registrar of finds, E. F. CAMPBELL, Jr., assistant director and treasurer, L. C. ELLENBERGER, photographer, and G. R. H. WRIGHT, architect and surveyor. The following nine individuals served on three expeditions: L. E. TOOMBS, associate director, and in various capacities J. A. CALLAWAY, J. S. HOLLADAY, S. H. HORN, P. A. LAPP, H. N. RICHARDSON, J. F. ROSS, H. O. THOMPSON, and Mrs. R. J. BULL. For the names of all staff members of the first four campaigns see WRIGHT's *Shechem*, pp. 248, 249.

²⁾ WRIGHT, BASOR, No. 148 (Dec., 1957), pp. 11-28; H. C. KEE and L. E. TOOMBS, BA, 20 (1957), 81-105.

³⁾ CAMPBELL, and R. J. BULL, BA, 23 (1960), 101-119; TOOMBS and WRIGHT, BASOR, No. 161 (Febr., 1961), pp. 11-54.

⁴⁾ TOOMBS and WRIGHT, BASOR, No. 169 (Febr., 1963), pp. 1-60; CAMPBELL and J. F. ROSS, BA, 26 (1963), 2-27.

made to solve several archaeological problems at sites which had previously been excavated, such as at the trench through the eastern defense system (Field III), the East Gate (Field I), and the Sacred Area (Field VI), but the main thrust lay in the two residential areas (Fields VII and IX). In Field VII excavations reached into the Middle Bronze levels, while in Field IX bedrock was reached under a level which contained much Chalcolithic pottery. Un-scheduled work was done, when during road-building activities carried out adjacent to the *tell* of *Balâṭah*, several ancient tombs were discovered. Although they had been robbed of most of their contents long ago, they needed to be surveyed and cleared of the remnants of their former contents. In soundings made at *Tell er-Ras*, one of the summits of Mt. Gerizim, on which a Roman temple had stood in the early centuries of the Christian era, the foundations of the temple were discovered and a structure of the Hellenistic period was found underneath them. The remains of this earlier building undoubtedly come from the temple of the Samaritans, which so far had never been found in excavations. This unexpected and exciting discovery requires a further season of excavations¹⁾.

From the beginning the excavations of Shechem had the purpose of serving also as a field school for the training of archaeological scholars badly needed in the area of Biblical studies. In this respect the expedition can look with pride on its accomplishments. It has not only given opportunities of archaeological field experience to a large number of professors of theological seminaries, but has provided practical training to several graduate students who worked toward their doctorate in disciplines related to Biblical archaeology. The tangible results are several doctoral dissertations that are either already completed or are in process, for which the pottery and other finds from Shechem have provided the chief source material.

The ancient cemetery of Shechem has not yet been discovered, and practically all small objects come from the various strata of the mound, from which unbroken pottery or other fragile objects can hardly be expected. Yet the annual harvest of small objects has been more than satisfactory. Among objects which merit special mention, a large number of coins from the Hellenistic levels, including a hoard of 35 tetradrachms, must take first place (PL. XVI, B)²⁾. A Greek coin of the 6th or 5th century B.C. found during the first campaign belongs to the oldest coins ever discovered in Palestine³⁾.

¹⁾ For a preliminary announcement see BULL and WRIGHT, *Newly Discovered Temples on Mt. Gerizim in Jordan*, Harvard Theological Review, 58 (1965), 234-237.

²⁾ The large number of Hellenistic coins found during the 1960 excavations were published by O. R. SELLERS, BA, 25 (1962), 87-96.

³⁾ WRIGHT, BASOR, No. 144 (Dec., 1956), pp. 19-20. On another coin of approximately the same period found in Jerusalem see J. MESHORER, *Atiqot*, 3 (1961), 184.

Then there were several seals ¹⁾, among which one of translucent chalcedony was inscribed with the name *mbn* ²⁾, several interesting scarabs (PL. XVI, A) ³⁾, and last (during the last three weeks of the 1964 campaign) but not least a well-preserved bronze statuette of a male deity of the Ba'al or Resheph type (PL. XVI, c) ⁴⁾.

The staff of the Shechem expedition plans to publish the final results of the excavations at Shechem, including the work of the earlier German expeditions, as far as this can be done on the basis of preliminary reports and other help, in a series of at least eleven monographs to appear in the "Harvard Semitic Series."

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS OF THE SHECHEM EXPEDITIONS ⁵⁾

The main result of the five recent seasons of excavations has been a successful reconstruction of the history of this Biblical city on the basis of archaeological findings in comparison with the evidence obtained from literary sources, mainly from the Bible. The following pages present a brief sketch of these historical results as they have emerged from the debris of Shechem during the last five seasons.

The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Periods. The earliest remains found during the excavations at Shechem come from the Chalcolithic period. They consist mainly of pottery of pre-Ghassulian and late Ghassulian (Beersheba) types (4th millennium). Underneath the later temple a pit was found containing charcoal, bones, and some seeds, besides Chalcolithic sherds. It was probably a hearth of a camping site. Also in Field IX a Chalcolithic stratum was discovered just above bedrock. Although many stones were found, they did not seem to form a pattern and therefore could not be interpreted to have been the remains of structures.

Of the Early Bronze Age, representing the 3d millennium B.C., only sherds in later fills have come to light. This seems to indicate that a settlement must have existed at the site of later Shechem, but in the areas excavated no architectural features of that period have been found, for which reason it is not known whether a city or town existed in the 3d millennium, or whether only an open camp stood at this site.

The Middle Bronze Age. The same can be said of the earliest period of the

¹⁾ Some seals were published by WRIGHT, BASOR, No. 167 (Oct., 1962), pp. 5-13.

²⁾ F. M. CROSS, Jr., BASOR, No. 167 (Oct., 1962), pp. 14-15.

³⁾ The scarabs of the campaigns 1957-1960 were published by the writer in JNES, 21 (1962), 1-14.

⁴⁾ See the provisional report in BA, 28 (1965), 18-22, and Figs. 1, 9, 10.

⁵⁾ For more detailed descriptions and interpretations of the archaeological evidence summarized in the following pages, see WRIGHT's book *Shechem*.



A. The Staff of the 1914 Shechem expedition under the Turkish flag: E. SELLIN seated and C. PRASCHNIKER, standing. Photo: Courtesy Mrs. Erika Schneller-Sellin.



B. The staff of the 1926 Shechem expedition. Standing from left to right: F. DATODI, F. M. TH. BÖHL, E. SELLIN, G. WELTER and H. JOHANNES. Photo: Courtesy Prof. F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl



C. The staff of the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition at Shechem in 1964. Photo: Lee C. Ellenberger



A. View of *Tell Balâṭah* from Mt. Gerizim. The village of *Balâṭah* is in the left center with the excavation area behind it. Jacob's Well is within the roofless church seen between trees in the center right of the picture.

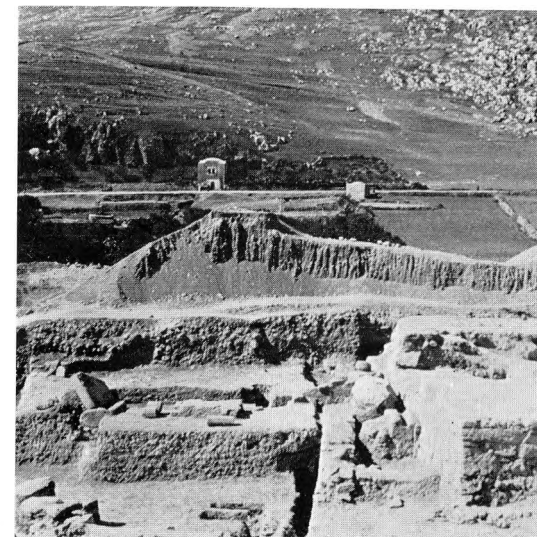


B. Part of the excavated Middle Bronze Age building which seems to have been a Courtyard Temple.

Photos: Lee C. Ellenberger

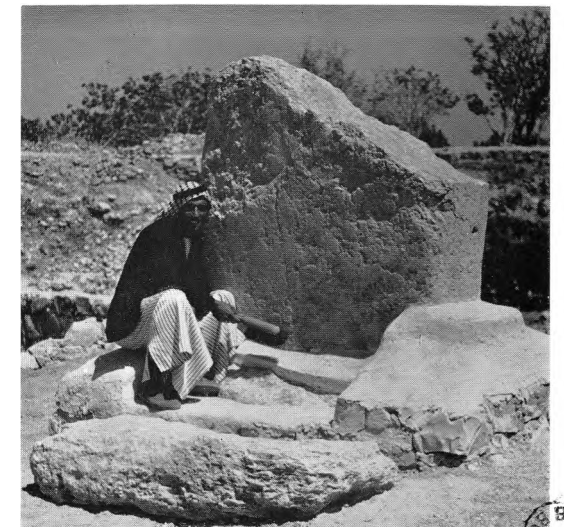


A. The temple of *Ba'al-berith* in the center with fortification walls in the foreground.
Photo: Lee C. Ellenberger.



B. Temple of *Ba'al-berith* in the right foreground. To the left the great *maṣṣebah* can be seen as found in 1926 lying on its socket.

Photo: F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl.



C. The great *maṣṣebah* of the Late Bronze Age temple after its re-erection in 1960.

Photo: Lee C. Ellenberger.



The East Gate of Shechem.

Photo: James T. Steward.



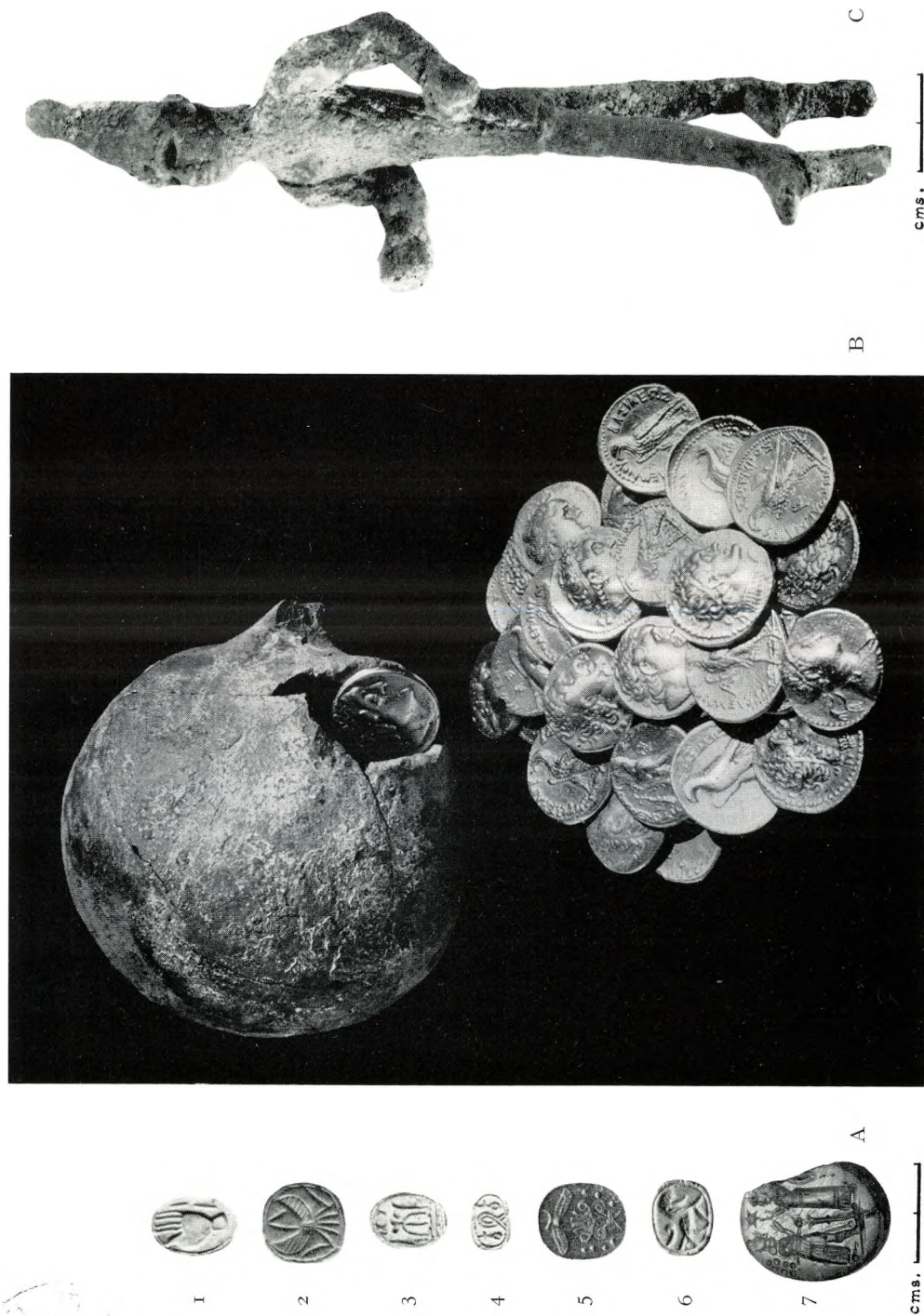
A. Walls of houses of the 9th century B.C. (Stratum IX B) in Field VII.



B. Walls of the 8th century B.C. (Stratum VII) house in Field VII.

Photos: Lee C. Ellenberger





A. Selected seals and scarabs found at Shechem in 1962: 1. a scarab from Stratum IX-VII; 2. a seal from Stratum IX-VII; 3. a scarab of Ramses I from a mixed context; 4. a scarab from the dump of the SELLIN expedition; 5. a scaraboid found in surface soil; 6. a scaraboid from a Hellenistic fill, and 7. an imported seal from Mesopotamia, found in sealed destruction debris of Stratum VII.
B. A hoard of 35 Ptolemaic tetradrachms together with the small vessel in which they were found.
C. A bronze figurine of *Ba'al* found in a Late Bronze Age stratum in 1964.

Photos: Lee C. Ellenberger

Middle Bronze Age (MB I) which covers approximately one century, from 1950 to 1850 B.C. So far only some pottery of this period has come to light, and this pottery invariably was found in later fills.

The earliest evidence of buildings comes from the next century (1850-1750 B.C.), the MB II A period. A massive filling operation to prepare Field VI for some public use, several unconnected walls and a silo underneath Street 9, the lowest of the MB streets in Field VI, testify to the fact that Shechem was a built-up place at that time. This is the period when the city is mentioned for the first time in Egyptian records, and it also coincides with the earliest period of the Biblical patriarchs. No evidence has come to light of any fortifications existing at that time, for which reason it must be concluded that Abraham encountered an unwalled town when he set up camp in the shadow of Shechem (Gen. 12 : 5).

At the beginning of the period labeled by archaeologists MB II B (1750-1650 B.C.) Shechem received its first city wall, a brick structure resting on a stone foundation, 2.50 m. wide (Wall D). This wall was discovered west of the sacred area. However, very soon, probably before 1700 B.C., this wall was tremendously strengthened by an earthen embankment of 30 m. width thrown against it from the outside. This embankment was held in place at its western end by a battered wall of stone, 5 m. high (Wall C). It has become clear that this strong earthen fortification system was built by the Hyksos, who are known to have enclosed their cities with rampart-like fortifications in many places. Qatna in Syria, Hazor in northern Palestine and Jericho in the Jordan valley are examples of this type of fortified cities in the Hyksos period.

At the same time a wall was built approximately 20 m. east of Wall D. This wall (Wall 900), build of well-laid stones, about 2 m. wide, was already recognized by SELLIN as a *temenos* wall, separating the acropolis with its public buildings from the rest of the residential city. During the century of the MB II B period (1750-1650 B.C.) a great deal of building and rebuilding went on in the space between the Temenos Wall 900 and the western fortification, consisting of Wall D and its embankment held in place by Wall C. The disentanglement of walls, rooms, streets, and courtyards has not been an easy task, due in part to the fact that large areas had already been excavated by the pre-war expeditions, and also because much evidence had been destroyed in the successive building activities of the ancients. However, four building phases could clearly be recognized, which means that a major rebuilding of the area with a new structural layout took place on an average of every 25 years during the MB II B period. In the excavated part there were always two main structures, one in the northern part of the area and the other in the southern part. A street, repaved with cobblestones nine times during that century, ran along the inner face of the Temenos Wall 900 and gave access to



the two buildings. This street turned to the west at the northern end of the southern building and then ran between the two structures toward the west.

The southern building is of special interest, because this may have been an open-air sanctuary, or courtyard temple. While the plan of the structure changed with every rebuilding, a courtyard bounded by Walls 938 and 984 always remained the same, and within this larger courtyard there was a smaller one, called by WRIGHT the *Central Court*. Since this court lay underneath the altar of the later temple of Ba'al-berith, which thus seems to have perpetuated the sacredness of this site, it is quite possible that the structure containing the courtyards was a courtyard temple (PL. XII, B), which WRIGHT has compared with the later courtyard temples at Boghazköy and with a temple in Level IX at Bethshan.

Shechem saw its greatest building activities during the next century, i.e., in the MB II C period (1650-1550 B.C.). It was in the midst of the Hyksos period, ca. 1650 B.C., that the cyclopean Wall A and the Northwest Gate, described already in connection with the 1913/14 excavations, were erected. This 4 m.-thick Wall A was built of large stones to a height of up to 10 m. and had a batter of 1.60 m., which means that its outer face sloped outward toward the base. West of the Northwest Gate a tremendous fill was thrown against the inner face of Wall A reaching to its top. This fill was pulled from the top of the earthen embankment of the preceding period. Such a system of fortification could easily withstand the force of battering rams and would have made sapping operations difficult or impossible. The Northwest Gate was set almost 6 m. above the foundations of Wall A, and could be reached only over an earthen ramp that led straight up to the gate's threshold, making it difficult for an enemy to approach the city's gate.

In the eastern part of the mound, Wall A has been found deeply buried in the debris against the mound's side. When it was covered over by the Samaritans at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the topography of the eastern slope was radically altered. At the site of the later East Gate it seems to have crossed a light topographical depression. Very soon after the construction of Wall A, probably not later than 1600 B.C., the wall system in the eastern and northern part of the city was strengthened by the building of Wall B on the edge of the mound's summit, about 10 to 11 m. inside Wall A. This new wall seems to have been constructed of bricks with wooden battlements. It rested on a stone socket 3.25 to 3.75 m. thick. The spread of the collapsed wall fallen inwardly, as observed in Field III, leads to the conclusion that Wall B originally had a height of ca. 10 m. The space between the lower outer Wall A and the higher inner Wall B was then filled with earth and the surface of this sloping fill was plastered. In this way a formidable fortification of some 16 m. thickness was created which formed an impregnable line of defense for the city.

At the time of the construction of Wall B the East Gate was built. This gate was very similar to the Northwest Gate, except that it had two pairs of towers instead of three, and two entrances, lying one behind another. The two entrances, wider than those of the Northwest Gate, formed a court, on both sides of which were guard rooms. The lower parts of the entrance towers were protected by large pairs of monoliths. Access to this gate was obtained by a cobbled road running from the south along the outside of the wall. At the gate entrance it made a left-hand turn and passed through the gate into the city, which in that sector lay lower than the gate; for this reason one had to descend a stairway of several steps to reach the street level inside the city.

The defensive system built by the Hyksos was then destroyed after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, when the victorious Egyptian armies marched through Palestine and conquered its cities. Evidence found in the East Gate showed that a battering ram had dislodged and broken one of the large monoliths when the gate was taken in storm and destroyed, while in Field III the remains of Wall B lay fallen inside the city with the wall's wooden parts burned and charred. A second wave of destruction must have followed within a few years after the first. WRIGHT, discussing the evidence, attributes the two destructions respectively to Ahmose (ca. 1570-1545 B.C.) and Amenhotep I (ca. 1545-1525 B.C.)¹.

At the time when Wall A was constructed (ca. 1650 B.C.) the great temple of 'El-berith or Ba'al-berith was also built (PL. XIII, A). For that purpose the former public buildings, including the courtyard temple standing between the embankment and the Temenos Wall 900, were covered with layers of dirt to produce a large platform. The temple, with an orientation of 28° south of east, rested in part on the great embankment into which foundation trenches were cut for the temple walls. Its eastern part, i.e. the entrance hall with its flanking towers, rested on a new fill kept in place by a new retaining wall, Wall 914, that ran in front of the temple. The temple had an outside size of 26.30 × 21.20 m. Its walls were 5.10 m. thick. The entrance hall at the east side was 7 m. wide and 5 m. deep with one column set on a large stone that served as column base. Standing on the threshold of the entrance hall, it supported the lintel and superstructure. On both sides stood massive towers with stairwells inside. A corridor 3.25 m. square led from the entrance hall to the cella, a large central hall, 13.50 m. long and 11 m. wide. Plans published by SELLIN show two rows of three column bases which held roof supports and divided the cella into three naves. A cistern in the southeastern corner must have contained water for ablution purposes. In the center of the cella there was another cistern or silo, found earlier by SELLIN. In front of the

¹) WRIGHT, *Shechem*, p. 75.

temple was a plastered walkway coming over the fill that had been laid over the courtyard temple. It came from the top of the Temenos Wall 900 and gave access to the temple from the city. An altar stood in front of the temple, and perhaps also two standing stones (*maššeboth*) in front of the two towers, although we can be sure only that they were there after the temple was renovated *ca.* 50 years after its first building.

A renovation was carried out *ca.* 1600 B.C. A new floor 75 cm. higher than the former one was laid, the column in the entrance hall was removed, and the entrance was narrowed by masonry put into its northern part. Two *maššeboth* flanked this narrower entrance. Their trough-like sockets were found *in situ* by SELLIN, together with two fragments of the southern *maššebah*. A new altar was built in front of the temple. When the city was destroyed by the Egyptians *ca.* 1550 B.C., the temple shared the fate of the fortifications and gates.

Since there has been a controversy about the building called here a temple, a word on that subject must be said. Professor SELLIN recognized this huge building as a temple and identified it with the "House of *Ba'al-berith*" or the "House of *'El-berith*" of Judges 9 : 4, 46. The size and plan of this building, the two *maššeboth* in front of it, and several cult objects found in the structure led SELLIN to his identification. He also correctly dated the building, as we now know, in the 17th cent. B.C. Prof. HERMANN THIERSCH followed SELLIN's views, but Dr. WELTER declared the building to have been a fortress with a secular character. Because of this divergent view of a trained archaeologist, men such as JOHANNES HEMPEL, KURT GALLING, and F. M. TH. BÖHL became cautious and noncommittal in their judgment. W. F. ALBRIGHT, however, maintained that it was a temple. He received strong support for his views when a similar though smaller structure, which was clearly a temple, was discovered in Stratum VIII at Megiddo. Since that time no one has questioned the sacred character of the great building at Shechem ¹⁾.

Not much can be said about remains of the MB levels in the residential areas of the city, because the excavated areas were nowhere large enough to uncover complete houses and thus have not produced coherent house plans. During the excavations of MB levels, stone walls, some standing to a height of 1 m., have been discovered, several thick plaster floors were found, and in two areas (Fields VII/9 and IX/3) parquet-like floors were encountered, that is floors made of nicely-laid large, square bricks. Since the shade of color was different

¹⁾ On the controversy about the temple at Shechem see WRIGHT's summary and discussion in his book *Shechem*, pp. 80-85 and 94-95. To the references given there should be added Prof. DE LIAGRE BÖHL's views. In his books *De opgravingen van Sichem* (1927), p. 16, and *Palestina in het licht der jongste opgravingen* (1931), pp. 62-63, BÖHL followed SELLIN's view, but in his article in JEOL 12 (1951-1952), p. 174, note 5, he seems to have been impressed by WELTER's doubts.

in each brick, the appearance of these floors was quite pleasing to the eye. In Field VII/6 a series of three superimposed lime kilns came to view, of which the second was built on top of the first when the surrounding structures were rebuilt and the floors raised, while the third kiln was again built on top of the second one during the next rebuilding operation.

After the city of Shechem, including its fortifications, public buildings, and residential areas, suffered two violent destructions in the space of a few years in the middle of the 16th century B.C. (as was mentioned above), the city seems to have lain empty and waste for about a century before it recovered from these catastrophes. No remains of any consequence from *ca.* 1540 to 1450 B.C. have been found.

Shechem in the Late Bronze Age. The rebuilding of Shechem began about 1450 B.C. Walls A and B were rebuilt, the former wall with a buttress wall behind it, and the latter in the form of a casemate wall, which means that chambers were created with the help of a parallel thinner wall and a number of cross walls. Also the East Gate was rebuilt, in part on a new plan. The southern guardroom and the space between the southern orthostats remained filled with debris which was held back by a newly constructed wall. The old entrance was used as a sunken passageway, because the city behind the gate, built now on the MB debris, lay on a higher level than the East Gate. Behind the inner southern tower a new guardroom was constructed. These fortifications seem to have existed until the 12th century, the time of Abimelech.

The temple was also rebuilt, this time like most of the Canaanite temples, with a broad-room cella; the term means that the entrance wall is longer (*ca.* 16 m.) than the side walls (*ca.* 12.50 m.). The walls were much narrower than those of the earlier temple, and were orientated 33° south of east, a difference of 5° with the MB temple. This change of orientation cannot be explained. It may have been due to a change in religious concepts. The original towers were rebuilt, and the MB altar was raised by putting a new layer of stones on top of the fill within the former altar. In front of this altar (to the east of it) a huge *maššebah* was erected, the largest so far discovered in excavations in Palestine. This monolith, now broken diagonally, has a width of 1.48 m. and a thickness of 42 cm. The height of the surviving fragment is 1.45 on one side and 62 cm. on the other. The original height is unknown. It was found by SELLIN lying on its socket, a trough-like stone into which the *maššebah* fitted very nicely (PL. XIII, B).

In 1928 SELLIN set up this monolith into its socket, but WELTER, who took over the direction of the excavations a few weeks later, not believing that the temple was a temple, had this stone taken out of its socket, and had it together with the socket thrown down the slope of the fill. In this operation the socket broke into two parts, of which one has since that time been lost. In 1960 the

Drew-McCormick Expedition with great difficulties dragged the stones back to their original place and set them up again, securing the *maššebah* in its broken socket with a considerable amount of cement (PL. XIII, c). This was done after the trenches dug into the altar site had been filled in. A wall was built around the elevated altar area to prevent further erosion.

This temple, erected about 1450 B.C., must have been standing at the time when the Israelites took the land and performed the great covenant ceremonies at Shechem which are described in the book of Joshua (8 : 30-35; cf. Deut. 27 : 11-14; and Josh. 24 : 1, 25-27). The temple was then destroyed by Abimelech in the 12th century together with the LB city (Judges 9 : 45-49), as the excavated evidence indicates.

The residential areas as far as they have been excavated have not contributed much to our understanding of LB Shechem. In Field VII the structures of Stratum XIII show that a relatively prosperous community must have existed there until Abimelech destroyed it. In that stratum the well-preserved bronze statuette of a male deity of the Ba'al or Resheph type was found, which has already been mentioned above (PL. XVI, c). In the small area excavated in Field IX no remains of the LB city were found. They seem to have been swept away by the extensive building operations of the age of David or Solomon.

Iron Age Shechem. Most of the evidence for the period in which the Israelites were in control of the city comes from the residential areas excavated by the Drew-McCormick Expedition. Not much can be reported about the results of the earlier excavations in this respect, since all records of these earlier excavations have been lost. The only exception is the great public building, excavated by SELLIN, which had stood in pre-exilic Shechem on the ruined substructure of the former temple. During the 9th century B.C. the temple remains were levelled off and covered by a thick layer of cement, into which large rocks were embedded, forming the foundation stones for a storehouse for grain and other commodities. Also the East Gate and the Northwest Gate were rebuilt, and a casemate wall was constructed on top of the old fortifications. It has plausibly been argued that Shechem was the provincial capital during the reign of Solomon¹⁾, and from Biblical evidence it is known that King Jeroboam I made it his first capital after the northern tribes had seceded from the House of David (1 Kings 12 : 25). This shows that Shechem had regained some of its former importance in the 10th century B.C., although by this time it had become more an administrative center, while in the past it had functioned as a cult center.

Strata XII and XI in Fields VII and IX probably belong to this prosperous

¹⁾ F. M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II (Paris, 1938), pp. 81 and 460.

period, which seems to have been brought to an end by the invasion of Pharaoh Shishak a few years after Solomon's death (1 Kings 14 : 25-28). A thick layer of ashes and charcoal, covering the remains of Stratum XI almost everywhere, testifies to the violence of the destruction of the city at that time. The next stratum (Stratum X) consists of poor wall stumps, indicating that only a hasty and poorly organized rebuilding of the city took place after Shishak's campaign.

During the next two centuries (ca. 920-722 B.C.) the city was rebuilt and destroyed four times (Strata IXB, IXA, VIII and VII). At least three of these destructions were the results of Israel's wars with the Syrians and the Assyrians, although it is possible that the city of Stratum IXB (PL. xv, A) found its end by an earth-quake. Except for Stratum IXA, which was a rebuilding of the IXB structures, the ground plans of all houses were different with each rebuilding. In the 8th cent. B.C. a well-planned and large house with several rooms located around a central courtyard was constructed on the site of Field VII (PL. xv, B). In its courtyard the large vat and a stone table of a dyeing establishment of an earlier period were covered with stones and then served as the base for a fire pit, perhaps of a kiln. This house was destroyed by the Assyrians during their final campaign against Samaria, ca. 723/722 B.C. The surviving inhabitants were probably deported to Mesopotamia, because the site of Shechem seems to have been almost deserted after this wholesale destruction.

It took Shechem almost four centuries to recover from this calamity. Yet it was not completely without a population during this period. The excavations have revealed two distinctive strata of occupation from the 7th and 6th centuries, although both were very poorly preserved. Stratum VI of the 7th cent. B.C. was represented by only a few architectural remains. The people of that time had reoccupied part of the ruins of the fine house of Stratum VII, had put new floors in the rooms which they used, and left some pottery—locally imitated Assyrian ware, which showed the influence of the Assyrians during this period when Samaria was an Assyrian province under a foreign governor. Whether the end of the Stratum VI city was due to King Josiah's forced unification of the country (2 Chron. 34 : 3-7), or to a Babylonian campaign, remains uncertain.

From the following stratum (Stratum V) even less remains than from Stratum VI. Some Greek pottery and an early Greek coin, however, point to the 6th cent. B.C. as the time for this stratum, from which hardly any architectural features have been recovered. Judging from the Greek pottery, the stratum ended and the tell was abandoned ca. 480 B.C.

Shechem During the Hellenistic Period. Shechem experienced another great revival during the late 4th cent. B.C. and again flourished for about 200 more years. From historical sources we know that Alexander the Great punished the inhabitants of Samaria for the murder of his governor and expelled its

citizens from Samaria. They then rebuilt Shechem and made that city the center of the Samaritan community for the next 200 years. The excavations in Fields I, II, VII and IX have revealed four distinct building phases during the Hellenistic period. A large number of coins ranging from Alexander the Great to ca. 110 B.C. facilitate the dating of the Hellenistic strata and of the pottery. Reconstruction of the old fortification system was undertaken at the beginning of the period, including the rebuilding of the East Gate and the covering of Wall A on the east with a thick glacis. The second of the Hellenistic phases (Stratum III) ended about 190 B.C. when Palestine and Syria changed hands. After having belonged to the Ptolemies for more than a century, the country became part of the Seleucid empire.

The fourth and last Hellenistic phase ended shortly before 100 B.C., in the time of John Hyrcanus, the Maccabean king, who in 128 B.C. destroyed Shechem and the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim and attempted to force the Samaritans to abandon their separatistic religion, based on the Pentateuch alone.

Whether the site of Shechem was occupied during the Roman period is not certain, although SELLIN reports the discovery of some Roman remains near the village spring of *Balâṭah*. It is most probable that a village always existed in close proximity to this spring, one of the finest in the whole area.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Postscript. Professor CAMPBELL's conclusions mentioned p. 287, n. 3 are counter to those now published briefly by K. NANDRASKY in Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 8-9 (1964), 89-90, whose report claims that EB sherds, and also some sherds which may be of MB or LB origin were found along with those of the Iron I and II, Roman and Byzantine periods. It should also be noted that the name of the site is pronounced *Tell Sofar* by the local people with a long and accented *o*. The names *Tell Sufar*, used in the literature, and *Tell Sufan*, found on the maps, must therefore be considered incorrect.

DAS HEBRÄISCHE PRONOMEN DEMONSTRATIVUM ALS HINWEISENDE INTERJEKTION*

Dass ausser *הִנֵּה* (bzw. *הֵן*) auch *כִּי* und *אֵם* als ursprünglich hinweisende Interjektionen zu betrachten sind, hat CARL BROCKELMANN in seiner *Hebräischen Syntax* mit Recht hervorgehoben¹⁾. Demgemäss stehen *הִנֵּה*²⁾ und *כִּי*³⁾ (wie auch manchmal *אֵת*⁴⁾) öfters präsentierend. Doch finden sie bekanntlich auch als Konjunktionen untergeordneter Sätze Verwendung⁵⁾, so wie das ebenfalls ursprüngliche Demonstrativum *זֶה* (und das daraus erweiterte *אֵשֶׁר*)⁶⁾, weil bei der grundsätzlichen Parataxe der semitischen Sprachen eine Unterordnung (abgesehen von Asyndese und waw *copulativum*⁷⁾) erst auf diesem Wege möglich wurde. Während *כִּי* und *אֵשֶׁר* in diesem Sinne nahezu immer miteinander alternieren⁸⁾, beschränkt sich der konjunktive Gebrauch von *הִנֵּה* anscheinend auf den realen Bedingungssatz⁹⁾. Dagegen kann der asyndetische Attributivsatz ausser durch den üblichen Relativpartikel *אֲשֶׁר* auch mittels *זֶה* (bzw. *זוּ*, *זוֹ*)¹⁰⁾ eingeleitet werden, niemals aber durch *כִּי* oder *הִנֵּה*.

Zeigt sich also bei *זֶה* die Verwendung als Konjunktion im Attributivsatz und ist ausserdem seine ursprüngliche Natur als deiktische Interjektion kaum zu beanstanden¹¹⁾, so lässt sich fragen, ob das üblicherweise als *pronomem*

*) Abkürzungen nach O. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*², Tübingen 1964, S. 1114ff.

¹⁾ C. BROCKELMANN, *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen 1956, § 159a; § 164b. Vgl. auch J. PEDERSEN, *Israel I-II*², Copenhagen 1946, p. 118.

²⁾ C. BROCKELMANN, a.a.O., § 4, § 51, § 56b.

³⁾ C. BROCKELMANN, a.a.O., § 31b, § 51; TH. C. VRIEZEN, *Einige Notizen zur Übersetzung des Bindewortes kī*, BZAW 77 (1958) [Von Ugarit nach Qumran], S. 266; vgl. auch das Ugaritische *k*, G. BEER-R. MEYER, *Hebräische Grammatik II*, Berlin 1955, § 114 und C. GORDON, *Ugaritic Handbook I*, Roma 1947, § 9.13 und § 13.46.

⁴⁾ C. BROCKELMANN, a.a.O., § 31b, § 51, § 96; vgl. P. P. SAYDON, *Meanings and uses of the particle אֵת*, VT XIV (1964), p. 192-210, besonders S. 210: "The particle אֵת . . . was used to emphasize the noun to which it was prefixed. In course of time the emphatic meaning was completely or almost completely lost".

⁵⁾ Vgl. C. BROCKELMANN, a.a.O., § 164a (zu *hinnēh*); § 164b, 165a, 167 (zu *im*) und TH. C. VRIEZEN, a.a.O., S. 266-273 (zu *kī*).

⁶⁾ C. BROCKELMANN, a.a.O., § 150c. Ist *אֵשֶׁר* in 2 Sam. 2, 4 und Micha 6, 12 (vgl. 3, 3) deiktische Interjektion?

⁷⁾ C. BROCKELMANN, a.a.O., § 139 und § 140 ff; BEER-MEYER, a.a.O., § 112.

⁸⁾ TH. C. VRIEZEN, a.a.O., S. 266.

⁹⁾ C. BROCKELMANN, a.a.O., § 164a; BEER-MEYER, a.a.O., § 122.3.

¹⁰⁾ BEER-MEYER, a.a.O., § 115.3.

¹¹⁾ So C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Spra-*

demonstrativum verwendete **וְהִנֵּה** und **וְזֹאת** im Hebräischen des Alten Testaments seine interjektionelle Natur stellenweise nicht erhalten haben könnte und zweitens, ob sich vielleicht auch nicht (ähnlich wie bei **כִּי** und **וְהִנֵּה** und abgesehen von der einleitenden Funktion beim asyndetischen Attributivsatz) die Verwendung als Konjunktion untergeordneter Sätze nachweisen liesse. Dies scheint mir tatsächlich der Fall zu sein. Anhand einiger Belege aus dem Alten Testament möchte ich diese These, die auf Grund der konjunktiven Verwendung von *d* bzw. *dm* im Ugaritischen¹⁾ und **דִּי** im Aramäischen²⁾ und der offensichtlich präsentierenden Bedeutung von (dem aus *d* mit emphatischem *m* zusammengesetzten) *dm* im Ugaritischen³⁾ von vornherein an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnen dürfte, näher zu begründen versuchen, weil diese für die Erklärung einzelner Bibelstellen bemerkenswerte Tatsache m.W. bisher nur ungenügend⁴⁾ Beachtung gefunden hat und daher in den Übersetzungen weithin unberücksichtigt geblieben ist.

Im Nachtgesicht vom Weib im Scheffelmass (Sacharja 5, 5-11) heisst es (Vs 7):

וְהִנֵּה כֶּכֶר עֹפֶרֶת נִשְׂאֵת
וְזֹאת אִשָּׁה אֶחָת יוֹשֶׁבֶת בְּתוֹךְ הָאִיפָה

וְזֹאת bereitet in diesem Vers Schwierigkeiten, weil die übliche demonstrative Bedeutung hier nicht in Frage kommt. Meistens betrachtet man die Stelle daher als verderbt und schlägt als besseren Text entweder **וְרֵאִיתִי** (bzw. **וְרָאָה**):

chen I, Berlin 1908, S. 316: „Die Demonstrativa entwickeln sich aus hinweisenden Interjektionen, Lautgebärden, die z.T. als solche noch im Gebrauch sind“ (vgl. die dort gegebenen Beispiele). Dagegen meint P. JOÜON, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*², Rome 1947, p. 443 jedoch: „Originairement **וְהִנֵּה** est un adverbe démonstratif et on le trouve encore employé comme tel“, vermag dann aber die in diesem Aufsatz erörterte Verwendung von **וְהִנֵּה** nicht genügend zu erklären (p. 444: „Dans quelques cas très rares **וְהִנֵּה** semble employé en fonction adjectivale devant le nom“ (er erwähnt als Beispiele Exodus 32,1; Hohelied 7, 8; Jesaja 23, 13; Psalm 104, 25 und (vielleicht) Psalm 49, 14, s. aber den vorliegenden Aufsatz zu all diesen Stellen).

¹⁾ Belege bei J. AISTLEITNER, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, Berlin 1963, S. 73 (nr. 716).

²⁾ Siehe dazu die Lexica und Grammatiken, etwa L. KÖHLER - W. BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, Leiden 1958, s.v.

³⁾ Deutlich in Krt II, VI, 1 und 13-14 (= GORDON, a.a.O., Text 127, I, 13-14); sehr wahrscheinlich in 1* AB III, 9, 18, 25 (= GORDON, a.a.O., Text 67, III, 9, 18, 25). Vgl. A. JIRKU, *Kanaänische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit*, Gütersloh 1962, S. 112 und 59.

⁴⁾ Nur C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss II*, S. 77 bemerkt, dasz auch im Hebräischen sich bei den Demonstrativa zuweilen noch ihre interjektionelle Natur erhalten hat und verweist auf Exodus 32, 1. So erkläre sich auch, dasz: *zè*, wenn es am Beginn eines Satzes steht, unverändert auch auf einen Plural bezogen werden kann (Genesis 31, 41; Numeri 14, 22; Josua 22, 3 usw.).

„und ich sah“) ¹⁾ oder **וְהִנֵּה** („und siehe“) ²⁾ vor. Eine Änderung des überlieferten Textbestandes erübrigt sich jedoch, sobald wir **וְזֹאת** (wie das vorangehende **וְהִנֵּה**) als deiktische Interjektion im Sinne von „siehe“ erklären dürfen, die sich auf die im Scheffelmass entdeckte Frau bezieht. Demgemäss lässt sich der Text folgendermassen übersetzen:

Siehe, ein Deckel aus Blei erhob sich
und siehe, ein Weib sass in dem Scheffelmass ³⁾).

Dasz **וְהִנֵּה** einem vorangehenden **וְהִנֵּה** entsprechen kann, lässt sich auch an Jesaja 25, 9 nachweisen, wenn wir den Text beibehalten so wie er dasteht ⁴⁾:

וְהִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְהִנֵּה קִינֵנוּ לוֹ יְיֹשִׁיעֵנוּ
וְהִנֵּה יְהוָה קִינֵנוּ לוֹ נְגִילָה וְנִשְׁמָחָה בִּישׁוּעָתוֹ

Siehe unser Gott, auf den ⁵⁾ wir harreten! Er hat uns gerettet!
Siehe Jahwe, auf den wir harreten! Lasset uns frohlocken und jauchzen wegen
seiner Rettung!

Der in diesem Vers verwendete Ruf **וְהִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ** bzw. **וְהִנֵּה יְהוָה** finden wir in ähnlicher Form an anderen Stellen im Alten Testament zurück. In Jesaja 40,9 wird die Freudenbote Sion aufgefordert den Städten Judas zu verkündigen: „Siehe euer Gott“ (**וְהִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם**). Im Hinblick auf 1 Könige 12, 28b lassen sich diese Worte wohl als alter Kultruf erkennen, wenn erzählt wird, wie Jerobeam die goldenen Kälber in Bethel und Dan Israel mittels dieses Rufes als die Gottheit ⁶⁾ anweist, die das Volk aus Ägypten führte: **וְהִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל** („Siehe

¹⁾ Z.B. TH. H. ROBINSON in ROBINSON-HORST, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten* (HAT 14), Tübingen 1938, s. 228; H. G. MITCHELL, *Haggai and Zechariah* (ICC)², Edinburgh 1937, p. 176.

²⁾ Z.B. K. MARTI, *Das Dodekapropheton* (KHC XIII), Tübingen 1904, S. 417.

³⁾ Die Septuaginta bestätigt diese Übersetzung:

Καὶ ἰδοὺ τάλαντον μολύβου ἐξαιρούμενον. Καὶ ἰδοὺ μία γυνὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ μέτρου.

Dass LXX statt **וְזֹאת** ein **וְהִנֵּה** in ihrer Vorlage hatte, lässt sich daher jedenfalls nicht mehr wahrscheinlich machen.

⁴⁾ K. MARTI, *Das Buch Jesaja* (KHC X), Tübingen 1900, S. 190 und O. PROCKSCH, *Jesaja I* (KAT IX), Leipzig 1930, S. 320f betrachten V. 9 b α als Variante zu 9 a α und streichen sie. G. FOHRER, *Das Buch Jesaja II*, Zürcher Bibelkommentare, Zürich-Stuttgart 1962, S. 20 deutet das erste „auf den wir harreten“ als späteren Zusatz, während E. S. MULDER, *Die Teologie van die Jesaja-Apokalipse*, Groningen 1954, S. 33 den Text ungeändert beibehält.

⁵⁾ Dieses **וְהִנֵּה** wird bestimmt im relativen Sinne verwendet (so mit Recht O. PROCKSCH, a.a.O.; anders E. S. MULDER, a.a.O., der in beiden Fällen für **וְהִנֵּה** eine demonstrative Bedeutung vorschlägt („dit is onze God“; „dit is Jahwe“).

⁶⁾ Vgl. für die sing. Deutung von **אֱלֹהֵיךָ** Genesis 20,13; 35,7; 2 Samuel 7,23 (anders 1 Chronik 17,21) und Josua 24,19 und E. KAUTZSCH-A. E. COWLEY, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*², Oxford 1910, § 145 i. M. NOTH, *Das zweite Buch Mose* (ATD 5), Göttingen 1959, S. 204 (vgl. S. 202) findet in Exodus 32,4 „die pluralische Benennung des einen

dein Gott, Israel"). Es ist im Zusammenhang dieses Aufsatzes merkwürdig und geradezu überraschend, dass Exodus 32,4 b stattdessen die Worte אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל aufweist, also אֱלֹהֵי statt הָיָה hat. Weil 1 Könige 12, 28b und Exodus 32, 4b einander übrigens völlig entsprechen und die Geschichte vom goldenen Kalb in diesem Kapittel sich traditionsgeschichtlich nach allgemeiner Ansicht wenigstens teilweise an die Gründung der nordisraelitischen Reichsheiligtümer anlehnt ¹⁾, darf man die Unterschiede umsoweniger übersehen und erweist sich daher das אֱלֹהֵי in Exodus 32, 4b wohl als eine הָיָה entsprechende, deiktische Interjektion ²⁾.

Auf Grund dieser Erwägungen dürfte nun auch die schwierige Stelle Psalm 48, 15 in ein neues Licht rücken. Der Dichter fordert seine Hörer auf, den Sinn auf den Wall Sions zu richten, seine Burgtürme zu mustern, damit sie dem künftigen Geschlecht erzählen: כִּי יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵינוּ עוֹלָם וְעַד הוּא יִנְהַגנוּ עַל־מוֹת. Jedenfalls steht (im elohistischen Psalter!) אֱלֹהֵינוּ anstelle von יִהְיֶה, so dass der Text ursprünglich lautete: כִּי יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְגו'. Auch hier versetzt הָיָה die Erklärer des Psalms in Schwierigkeiten, was aus den beträchtlichen Schwankungen bei der Übersetzung der Stelle deutlich hervorgeht. Von diesen lässt die Übertragung: „dass *dies* Jahwe ist" ³⁾ als Hinweis eine direkte Beziehung mit dem Vorangehenden vermissen, ist die Deutung: „dass Jahwe *so* ist" ⁴⁾ im Zusammenhang nicht recht befriedigend und erweist sich die Erklärung: „dass Jahwe *hier* ist" ⁵⁾ im Hinblick auf die adverbiale Verwendung von הָיָה ⁶⁾ zwar als möglich, aber in Bezug auf die Fortsetzung des Satzes als überaus schwierig ⁷⁾. Dient aber כִּי an dieser Stelle (so wie das ὅτι *recitativum*)

„goldenen Kalbes" als Götter," die aus 1 Könige 12,28 stamme. Vielmehr ist auch an dieser Stelle אֱלֹהֵי als Singular zu übersetzen.

¹⁾ Vgl. M. NOTH, a.a.O., S. 202 („so wird man damit rechnen müssen, dass von Anfang an die Erzählung von 2 Mos. 32 mit Bezug auf die Kultpolitik Jerobeams verfasst worden ist") und W. BEYERLIN, *Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinaitraditionen*, Tübingen 1961, S. 145 („Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen Ex. 32, 1-6 und 1 Kö 12, 25-33 sind so zahlreich und offensichtlich, dass man nicht umhin kann, einen Zusammenhang zwischen diesen beiden Texten anzunehmen"). BEYERLIN bestreitet aber wohl mit Recht (gegen NOTH), dass die Erzählung von Ex. 32 vom Bericht des Deuteronomisten abhängig wäre.

²⁾ Der Kultruf trüge somit an dieser Stelle ein altertümliches Gepräge (vgl. auch den Plural) und lässt Abhängigkeit von 2 Könige 12, 28 als unwahrscheinlich erscheinen.

³⁾ So B. DUHM, *Die Psalmen* (KHC), Freiburg 1899; J. J. P. VALETON Jr., *De Psalmen*, Nijmegen 1912; A. WEISER, *Die Psalmen*² (ATD 14/15), Göttingen 1955 und J. VAN DER PLOEG, *De Psalmen uit de grondtekst vertaald*, Roermond-Maaseik 1963.

⁴⁾ H. SCHMIDT, *Die Psalmen* (HAT 15), Tübingen 1934; H. J. KRAUS, *Psalmen* (BK XV), Neukirchen 1960 und F. M. TH. BÖHL, *De Psalmen* (TU), Groningen 1947.

⁵⁾ S. J. RIDDERBOS, *De Psalmen* (COuT), Kampen 1958.

⁶⁾ Vgl. P. JOÜON, *Grammaire*², S. 443, obgleich die Deutung im Sinne von „hier" nicht überzeugend ist.

⁷⁾ Die Fortsetzung des Satzes hinkt in dem Falle ungeschickt nach.

zur Andeutung der direkten Rede ¹⁾, so konnte man auch hier הָיָה als deiktische Interjektion betrachten und den vorhin erörterten Kultruf in der Form הָיָה הָיָה (vgl. Jes. 25,9 und Exod. 32, 4b) zurückfinden. Der Text wäre demgemäss folgendermassen zu übersetzen:

(damit ihr dem künftigen Geschlechte erzählt:)

Siehe Jahwe,
unser Gott auf ewig und immer!
Er wird uns ewiglich ²⁾ leiten!

Die Verwendung von הָיָה als hinweisende Interjektion lässt sich noch an weiteren Beispielen klarmachen. Hohelied 7,8 heisst קוֹמְתָךְ דְּמָתָךְ לְתָמָר, zweifelsohne: „Siehe, dein Wuchs gleicht der Palme"; Psalm 104, 25 lässt sich הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה wohl am besten mit „Siehe das Meer: gross und ausgedehnt" übersetzen. Exodus 32, 1 ist mit הָיָה מֹשֶׁה nicht etwa in abschätzendem Sinne „dieser Mose" gemeint, sondern einfach: „Siehe, Mose...". In dem (zwar schwierigen) Text Jesaja 23, 13a, der sich im Zusammenhang als ein zersprengter Vers ausnimmt ³⁾, finden wir הָיָה wiederum neben הָיָה und könnte man daher übersetzen:

Siehe (הָיָה) das Land der Chaldäer!

Siehe (הָיָה) das Volk, das nicht (mehr) da ist!

Assur hat es für Dämonen bestimmt!

An vielen anderen Stellen ist die Verwendung von הָיָה als deiktische Interjektion nicht mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen ⁴⁾ und bleibt die Deutung als pronomen demonstrativum oder als hinweisendes Adverb möglich. Selbstverständlich lassen sich in Einzelfällen die aus ihrer ursprünglichen Natur hervorgegangenen neuen syntaktischen Verwendungen von הָיָה, זאת, אֵלֶּה nicht immer genau von jenem alten Gebrauch trennen. Die oben erwähnten Beispiele dürften jedoch genügen als Beweis, dass die Demonstrativpronomina im Hebräischen zuweilen ihre interjektionelle Natur bewahrt haben.

Abgesehen von der Verwendung als einleitendem Relativpartikel im Attributivsatz, konnte הָיָה als ursprüngliche deiktische Interjektion nun aber in bestimmten Fällen auch konjunktive Bedeutung erlangen, sobald man den mit הָיָה eingeleiteten Satz gewissermassen nicht mehr als dem Hauptsatz

¹⁾ S. GeseNIUS-KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, a.a.O., § 157b.

²⁾ Leg. עֲלֵמוֹת, vgl. L. KRINETZKI, *Biblische Zeitschrift* IV (1960), S. 73 und M. DAHOOD, *Biblica* XLII (1961), S. 384.

³⁾ S. dazu die oben erwähnten Jesaja-Kommentare.

⁴⁾ Vgl. Genesis 2,23; 25,16; Josua 9, 12.13; Psalm 49, 14; Ezechiel 40, 45.

beigeordnet, sondern als diesem untergeordnet empfand. Ein solcher Fall liegt vielleicht schon in Psalm 56, 10 vor, wo es heisst:

אֲנִי יֹשֵׁב אֶחָד בְּיוֹם אֶקְרָא
וְהָ יְדַעְתִּי כִּי אֱלֹהִים לִי

Die übliche Übersetzung von Vs. 10b: „dies weisz ich, dasz Jahwe für mich ist“ knüpft nur sehr lose an das Vorhergehende an, während die Stelle doch offenbar geradezu als Grund für die in Vs. 10a erwähnte Hoffnung zu werten ist. Dem entspricht aber sehr gut die Übersetzung:

Meine Feinde werden gewiss zurückweichen [am Tage, da ich rufe]¹⁾,
denn ich weisz, dasz ‚Jahwe‘ für mich ist.

Die konjunktive Verwendung von וְהָ lässt sich noch weniger in Psalm 34,7 leugnen, wo wir lesen:

וְהָ עָנִי קָרָא וַיַּהֲרֶה שְׁמֵעַ
וּמִכָּל-צָרוֹתָיו הוֹשִׁיעֵו

Diese Worte beziehen sich wohl kaum auf den Dichter als „diesen Armen hier“²⁾, sondern bilden die Schlussfolgerung, die der Psalmist aus seinen eigenen Erfahrungen im Hinblick auf alle „Armen“ zieht, weil ja auch der Kontext (v. 6-11) allgemeine Aussagen enthält³⁾. Dann lässt sich aber v. 7 folgendermassen übersetzen:

Wenn ein Armer ruft, so hört ihn Jahwe und Er rettet ihn aus all seinen Nöten.

Damit entspricht diese Stelle auch den Aussagen von vs. 16 und 18⁴⁾, wo es heisst:

(16) Die Augen Jahwes (wenden sich) zu den Gerechten und seine Ohren zu ihrem Schreien.

(18) Schreien sie, so hört sie Jahwe und Er rettet sie aus all ihren Nöten.

Anhangsweise sei noch bemerkt, dasz auch das mit וְהָ verwandte⁵⁾ hebräische Demonstrativadverb וְהָ zuweilen die ursprüngliche interjektionelle Natur bewahrt hat und manchmal sogar als Konjunktion verwendet wird. Als hervorhebende Interjektion dürfte וְהָ z.B. in Genesis 49,4; Josua 22, 31;

¹⁾ Späterer Zusatz?

²⁾ Bzw. „Hier ist ein Armer“: so die meisten Kommentare, vgl. aber B. DUHM, a.a.O., S. 97; „Da der Elende, der rief u.s.w. וְהָ ist hinweisend . . .; der Dichter könnte den und den nennen, dem auf sein Gebet geholfen wurde.“

³⁾ Bei dieser Deutung wäre auch die oft beklagte Unordnung des Psalmes wenigstens teilweise behoben.

⁴⁾ Die ursprüngliche Reigenfolge ע-פ wurde vertauscht, vgl. Klagelieder 2-4 und H. J. KRAUS, a.a.O., S. 267.

⁵⁾ Vgl. KÖHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon*, s.v. וְהָ und das Phönizische.

Richter 5, 19; Jesaja 41, 1; Jeremia 11, 15; Psalm 2, 5; 69,5 und 96, 12 zu deuten sein. Als Konjunktion scheint mir וְהָ jedoch in Micha 3, 4 verwendet zu werden, wo die Gerichtsankündigung ihre volle Wucht erst erhält, wenn man übersetzt:

Wenn sie zu Jahwe schreien,
wird Er sie nicht erhören,
sondern sein Antlitz vor ihnen verbergen¹⁾,
weil sie schlimme Taten begehen²⁾.

Groningen

A. S. VAN DER WOUDE

¹⁾ וְהָ קָצַת הָהִיא ist wahrscheinlich späterer Zusatz, vgl. die Kommentare.

²⁾ Übrig bliebe sonst für וְהָ nur die Deutung „einmal“. Es lässt sich aber nicht einsehen, dass Jahwe erst einmal in der Zukunft nicht hören wird. Vielmehr wird Er *jetzt* nicht hören, wenn diese religiösen Übeltäter zu Ihm beten.

AN EGYPTIAN MAGICAL BRICK

In the funerary equipment of the New Kingdom there is an interesting set of four bricks commonly called the "briques magiques"¹⁾ and intended to protect the dead person by chasing away his enemy. According to the prescription found in the *Book of the Dead* and on some of the bricks themselves (see p. 316, n. 4), they must be made of unbaked clay, each provided with a specific amulet and an individual spell, and placed in a niche, in one of the four walls of the burial chamber²⁾. A brick with a shawabti-like figure is to be placed in the northern niche, another containing a reed in the southern, a third bearing an Anubis in the eastern, whereas the western niche should be equipped with a specimen showing a Djed.

It is with the latter case that we are particularly concerned here. Recently, as far as I know for the first time, a brick entered into a Dutch collection. Mr. J. A. P. M. BEEKMANS in Melissant obtained an interesting sample (Pl. xvii, A) which he kindly allowed me to publish. He was informed that it had been found in Deir el-Medineh in 1964; according to Miss MONNET (*o.c.*, 155) the bricks as a rule originate from the regions of Thebes and Abydos. The measures are approximately $14 \times 8.5 \times 2.1$ cm.

The brick is anonymous, but it was clearly destined for a private tomb³⁾: the inscription consists of a short version of the text which is far from faultless, and is written not with hieroglyphs but in hieratic.—The latter is of the later New Kingdom type⁴⁾.

I propose the following translation (see Fig. 16).

"(1) O you who come seeking, but whose steps are warded off - hidden of face, but (2) whose hiding-place is revealed! I am he who stands behind (= protects), the Djed. I am (3) indeed he who stands behind on the day of repelling slaughter."

(Directions for use) "(5) West. Its face towards the East."

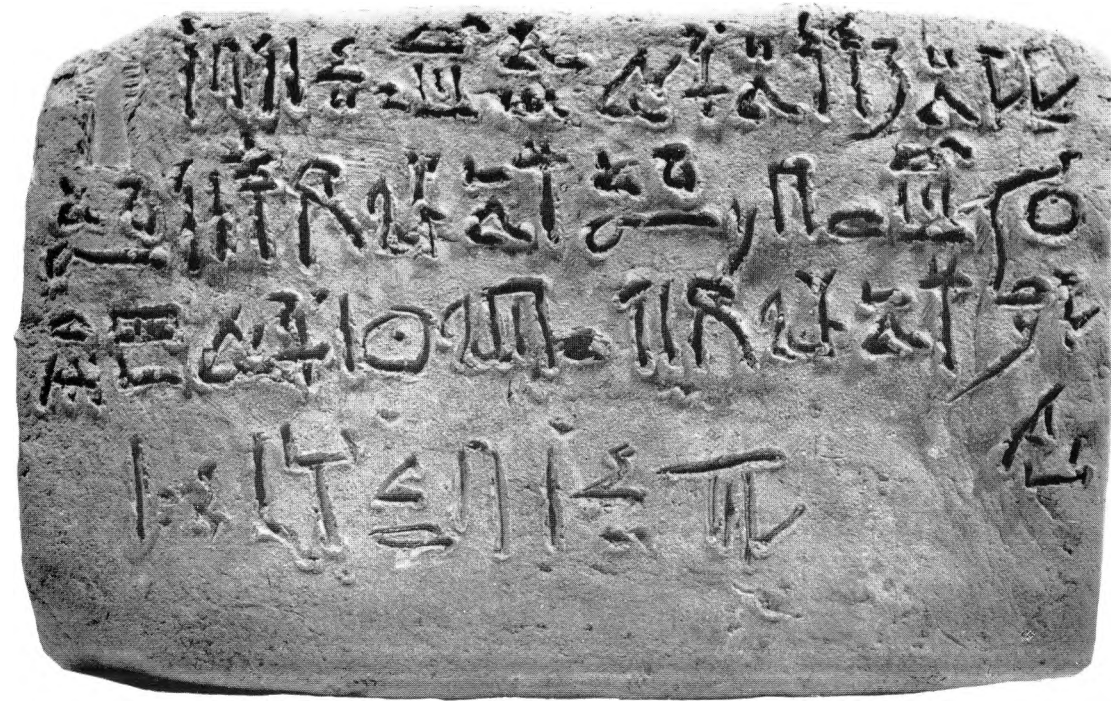
GARDINER (*o.c.*, 118) rightly concluded that the four amulets in particular seem to have the function of repelling the enemy. Somewhat surprisingly, however, he made an exception for the Djed which in his opinion unlike the

¹⁾ BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952, 259-260; MONNET, *RdEg* 8 (1951), 151-162; GARDINER, in *The Tomb of Amenemhät*, London, 1915, 116-118.

²⁾ See also the tomb plan of BD 151A, e.g. NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, I, Berlin, 1886, T. CLXXIII.

³⁾ See the observations by Miss MONNET, *o.c.*, 155.

⁴⁾ The directions for use may be in another hand than the spell itself.



A. Magical brick, Collection BEEKMANS. Full size.

Photo: F. G. van Veen.



B. Detail of A: Djedshaped imprint.

Photo: F. G. van Veen.



C. Brick with Djed in Tutankhamon's tomb. (see p. 316 n. 5).

other figures does not speak in the spell to which it is related. He translated ¹⁾ in line 2: "I am he who stands behind the dad." As stated above I am convinced we have to render the phrase differently. We would then get a more satisfactory result, quite in keeping with the situation of the three other amulets. It is the Djed personified ²⁾ who speaks as protector of the owner of the tomb. In this way the omission of "Djed" in line 3 although probably a mistake ³⁾ does not of necessity deprive the sentence of its meaning.

The adversary is described (l. 1) as "seeking" his prey. The same term is used elsewhere in the opposite direction. There ⁴⁾ the deceased "goes upon his feet and speaks with his mouth in search of his enemy".—To succeed in his

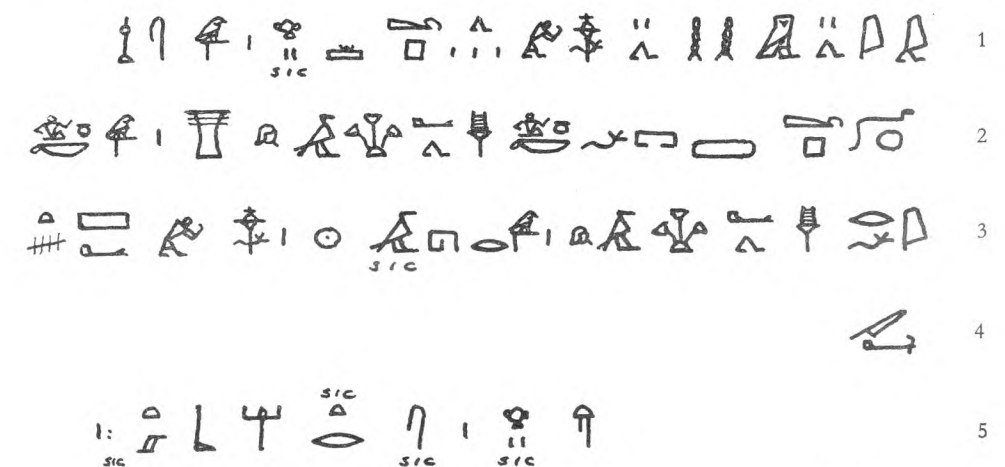


Fig. 16 Magical brick, Collection BEEKMANS. Transcription of text.

attempt the evil-doer does in all probability not show his face (l. 1) ⁵⁾. That is a well known practice. The Berlin nursery spells e.g. address a demon "who comes in darkness, who enters creeping, his nose behind him, his face turned" ⁶⁾. And the medico-magical papyrus *Leiden I 348 vo, II, 1* mentions the "repelling of Terror who comes to fall upon somebody in the night face backwards."

But the intruder is stopped, or as the text (l. 1) says: his "steps ⁷⁾ are warded

¹⁾ In the same way MONNET, *o.c.*, 160.

²⁾ See VAN DE WALLE, *La Nouvelle Clio* 6 (1954), spec. 285-287.

³⁾ The word is repeated in all variants known to me from *BD 137A, 151A* and other bricks.

⁴⁾ *Coffin Texts VI 169 a-c*. Cf. *BD 11,5* = BUDGE (1898), 32, 12-14.

⁵⁾ "Hidden of face" (using the verb *imn*) occurs as name of a god or demon *CT II 207 a* and PIANKOFF, *Le Livre des Quererts*, Le Caire, 1946, pl. LXXXII, 1.2.

⁶⁾ *Pap. Berlin 3027* (ERMAN, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, Berlin, 1901) 10, I, 9-10. See also my *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a. Coffin Texts spreuk 335a*, Leiden, 1963, 78, n. 320.

⁷⁾ In connection with hostile beings this very stem is used e.g. also: SETHE, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*³, Hildesheim, 1959, 51,7 and probably 52,21 and 53,1.

off." And the act of hiding is of no use to him: his dark shelter ¹⁾ is brought to light, literally "illuminated" (l. 1-2), in the same way as the sun supplies the underworld with light (*WB* IV, 225, 4-7).

So the enemy fails and the dead person escapes slaughter ²⁾ (l. 3) thanks to the protection ³⁾ of the Djed.

As on most bricks the directions for use are very short ⁴⁾. They indicate only in a laconic way the wall required and the orientation of the Djed.

Cases in which this amulet has remained standing in the brick just as it was put in there in antiquity are rare. An example, that of king Tutankhamon, is illustrated *in situ* on Pl. XVII, C ⁵⁾. It will be clear that a Djed fastened only at the bottom could easily get loose and lost. This may have been the reason why the usual hole in Mr. BEEKMANS' brick was replaced by a ± 2.5 mm deep imprint (Pl. XVII, B) showing the outlines of the amulet. When we assume that originally it contained a fitting Djed there are two possibilities. Either the brick was placed on its back and the amulet laid safely embedded but did not fulfill the requirement that it should face the East. Or the brick reposed on a side, contrary to what is known from elsewhere; then the Djed should have been fixed firmly but I could not discover any traces of this (e.g. an adhesive).—Finally the imprint itself might have served as a substitute for the separate Djed.

Whatever the case may be I know of no parallel of this Djed shape. The only piece that comes to my mind bearing some resemblance is the stela *Marseilles* 42 ⁶⁾. The stela, like its three companions 40, 41 and 43, is covered i.a. with text and rubric in question and was destined to receive the amulet stuck in the brick, both missing at present. A cavity created for the latter purpose in the stela roughly follows the contours of the two objects. This is, however, the only thing which is (partly) similar. The Dutch brick, to my knowledge at least, is unique in this respect which seemed to justify its publication here.

Leiden

M. HEERMA VAN VOSS

¹⁾ FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford, 1962, 284: "hut" (*Shipwr. Sail.*, l. 43), "hide" (Caminos, *Lit. Fragm.*, p. 13). These translations improve those of *WB* V, 104, 4-5, which still thinks of the covering roof etc., not the shelter itself.—For the first determinative compare presumably *WB* V, 104,3 (right).

²⁾ ZANDEE, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*, Leiden, 1960, 154, n. 10 gives other instances of the "repelling of slaughter".

³⁾ See for the translation of our verb *WB* III, 8, 14 quoting *Pyr.* 256 b. For the adverbial use of *h3* one may compare *WB* III, 9,23.

⁴⁾ More detailed rubrics are offered by *BD* 137A or 151A (e.g. Nu [BUDGE, *o.c.*, 310] and Yuia [ed. NAVILLE, pl. XIII]), the brick *Cairo* C.G. 9441 (DARESSY, *Textes et dessins magiques*, Le Caire, 1903, p. 49) and the stela *Marseilles* 42 (see below).

⁵⁾ After: CAPART a.o., *Tout-Ankh-Amon*, Bruxelles, 1943, fig. 29.

⁶⁾ NAVILLE, *Les quatre stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille*, Lyon, 1880 = *Comptes Rendus du Congrès provincial des Orientalistes*, I, pl. XV. Cf. MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, Paris, 1889, 27.

AUSSTRAHLUNGEN DES ZWEISTROMLANDES *)

Die Wissenschaft vom alten Babylonien und Assyrien, die man als Assyriologie oder als Akkadistik bezeichnet, ist ein junger Zweig der Orientalistik. In Deutschland wurde sie erstmalig 1875 in Berlin durch eine Professur vertreten, worauf 1878 Leipzig und 1883 Göttingen folgten. Sie verdankt ihre Entstehung weitgehend den Vertretern der älteren Nachbarwissenschaften, namentlich Theologen, sowie dem grossen Interesse, das theologische Fragen aller Art damals in weiten Kreisen fanden. Diese Bindung hat sich, wenn auch ziemlich abgeschwächt, bis jetzt erhalten. Daneben spielte natürlich das Interesse an alter Geschichte eine ähnliche Rolle. Besonders für die Geschichtswissenschaft hat sich das neue Fach nicht schlecht bewährt: zusammen mit der Ägyptologie, die sich ein paar Jahrzehnte früher entwickelt hatte, hat es unsere geschichtlichen Kenntnisse auf Grund schriftlicher Quellen um etwa zwei Jahrtausende verlängert, d.h. also fast verdoppelt. Ägyptologie und Assyriologie machten uns die beiden ältesten Hochkulturen der Welt bekannt: das alte Ägypten, sowie das alte Zweistromland am Euphrat und am Tigris, mit seiner Bevölkerung von Sumerern, Babyloniern und Assyren.

Es nimmt also nicht wunder, dass besonders in der Anfangsperiode der Assyriologie Fragen dieser Nachbargebiete eine grosse Rolle gespielt haben. Ich möchte diese Fragen folgendermassen zusammenfassen: Welche im Zweistromland erstmalig belegten Erscheinungen haben über das Gebiet des Zweistromlandes hinaus, während des Zeitalters der babylonisch-assyrischen Geschichte oder auch noch später, Einfluss ausgeübt, sei es unmittelbar durch kriegerische und friedliche Beziehungen der Babylonier und Assyrer mit ihren Nachbarvölkern, sei es durch Vermittlung des persischen Reiches oder des Hellenismus? Und welche Rolle hat das Volk Israel dabei gespielt?

Aus diesem Fragenkomplex sind jedoch, genau genommen, nur die politischen Beziehungen zwischen den Bewohnern des Zweistromlandes und ihren Zeitgenossen in den Nachbarländern, sowie die Frage der akkadischen Lehnwörter in anderen Sprachen ¹⁾ einigermaßen befriedigend bearbeitet worden. Für eine wirklich gute Behandlung der Gesamtproblematik dürfte freilich aus verschiedenen Gründen die Zeit auch noch nicht reif sein. Bevor es soweit ist, müssen auf dem Gebiet der Akkadistik nicht wenige andere Aufgaben erfüllt sein und müssen die Akkadisten im eigenen Hause bessere Ordnung hergestellt

*) Am 18. I. 1964 in Göttingen gehaltene Antrittsvorlesung (ohne den Schlussteil).

¹⁾ H. ZIMMERN, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (1917), vgl. auch E. LITTMANN, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen* (1924).

haben. Wir können jetzt im Grunde nur, wenn sich die Gelegenheit dazu darbietet, Mosaiksteinchen sammeln, die sich vielleicht nach einigen Jahrzehnten in ein Mosaik werden einfügen lassen, freilich auch dann nur in ein Mosaik, das niemals ganz fertig wird. Dabei muss ein beträchtlicher Teil von dem, was früher über diese Fragen geschrieben worden ist, neu geprüft, dem jetzigen Stand unseres Wissens angepasst und ergänzt werden. Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich nun ein paar solche Mosaiksteinchen etwas genauer betrachten.

Wenn eines Tages eine Weltgeschichte des Aberglaubens verfasst werden sollte ¹⁾, so müsste am Anfang ein langes Kapitel über den Aberglauben im Zweistromland stehen und nachher nicht selten auf dieses Kapitel verwiesen werden.

Des Aberglaubens liebstes Kind ist wohl die Astrologie, springlebendig bis auf den heutigen Tag. Illustrierte und Zeitungen teilen uns haargenau mit, welches Los uns auf Grund der Sterne beschieden ist, je nachdem wir Widder, Stier, Zwillinge, Krebs, Löwe, Jungfrau, Waage, Skorpion, Schütze, Steinbock, Wassermann oder Fische sind, d.h. unter welchem Gestirn wir geboren sind. Es handelt sich dabei bekanntlich um die zwölf Sternbilder des Tierkreises.

Die Sonne beschreibt scheinbar einmal im Jahr eine kreisförmige Bahn am Himmel, die sog. Ekliptik. Die Ekliptik nun verteilt man, der Anzahl der Monate entsprechend, in zwölf gleich grosse Teile. Jeder von diesen zwölf Teilen enthält ein Sternbild, eine Gruppe von Sternen, die man sich mit seltsamer Phantasie als Kernpunkte einer am Himmel stehenden mythologischen Gestalt vorstellt. Nun muss man freilich unterscheiden zwischen den Strecken von je 30° der Ekliptik, die den einzelnen Gestirnen des Tierkreises zugeordnet werden, und den Gestirnen selbst. Die jeweiligen Strecken der Ekliptik nennt man *Tierkreiszeichen*, im Gegensatz zu den *Gestirnen* oder *Bildern* des Tierkreises. So kann man z.B. sagen, die Sonne sei im 20. Grad des Zeichens Widder; sie hat dann also 2/3 der entsprechenden Strecke der Ekliptik durchschritten.

Ich zeige Ihnen jetzt, wie sich die Ägypter der römischen Kaiserzeit die einzelnen Sternbilder vorgestellt haben. Die Bilder stammen von einem Sarg aus ca. 110 nach Chr. (Fig. 17).

Und hier ist die ägyptische Tierkreisdarstellung aus der Zeit des Kaisers Augustus, die sich im Hathor-Tempel der Stadt Dendera befand (Fig. 18).

Wo und wann sind nun die Vorstellungen vom Tierkreis und von den Gestirnen überhaupt entstanden? Und wer ist auf den Gedanken gekommen, mit Hilfe dieser Vorstellungen die Ekliptik in zwölf gleich grosse Teile aufzu-

¹⁾ Das Buch von E. A. W. BUDGE, *Amulets and superstitions* (1930) = *Amulets and Talismans* (1961) ist nur beschränkt brauchbar.

teilen? Und wo ist man auf den Gedanken gekommen, die Erscheinungen am Sternhimmel zur Deutung der Zukunft zu verwerten?

Wir verfügen über in sumerischer Sprache verfasste Listen mit Sternnamen, um 2000 vor Chr. im südlichen Zweistromland entstanden ¹⁾. Sie stellen — neben den ägyptischen Quellen — das älteste Zeugnis dar, dass Menschen Sterne zu Gruppen zusammengefügt, diese Sterngruppen mit Namen versehen

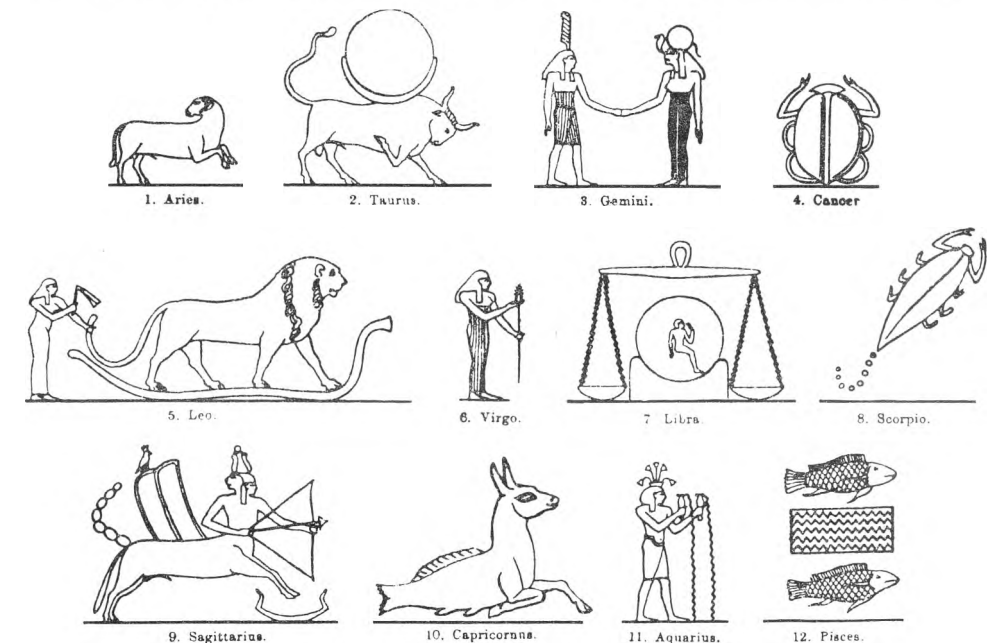


Fig. 17. Die Sternbilder der Tierkreises nach den Vorstellungen der Ägypter der römischen Kaiserzeit (nach einem Sarg aus ca. 110 n. Chr., vgl. BUDGE, *Amulets and Talismans*, 1961, S. 410)

und sie also als himmlische Menschen, Tiere oder Gegenstände aufgefasst haben, bzw., genauer gesagt, als göttliche Wesen, die sich in dieser Form manifestierten. So bezeichnete man eine bestimmte Sterngruppe mit dem sumerischen Wort für Skorpion, eine andere mit dem Wort für Wagen, wieder eine andere mit dem Wort für Rabe. Diese phantastischen Vorstellungen haben Weltgeschichte gemacht, denn jetzt noch bezeichnen wir dieselben Gestirne mit denselben Namen.

Aus der Zeit um 1100 vor Chr. haben wir eine Art „Astrolab“, einen Text, der 36 Sterne und Gestirne aufzählt und sie zu je drei mit den zwölf Monaten

¹⁾ Siehe zum Folgenden: E. WEIDNER, bei E. EBELING und B. MEISSNER, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3/1 und 11 (1957 bzw. 1959), S. 72ff., A. SCHOTT, *ZDMG* 88 (1934), S. 302ff., B. VAN DER WAERDEN, *JNES* 8 (1949), S. 6ff. und 10 (1950), S. 20ff., O. NEUGEBAUER, *The exact sciences in antiquity* 2. Aufl. (1957), S. 97ff.

kombiniert. Von den aufgezählten Fixsternen und Gestirnen sind hier nicht weniger als zehn auf die gleiche Weise bezeichnet, wie wir das jetzt noch tun, u.a. die fünf Tierkreisbilder Zwillinge, Krebs ¹⁾, Löwe, Waage und Skorpion. Zu diesen schon im zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend belegten Namen

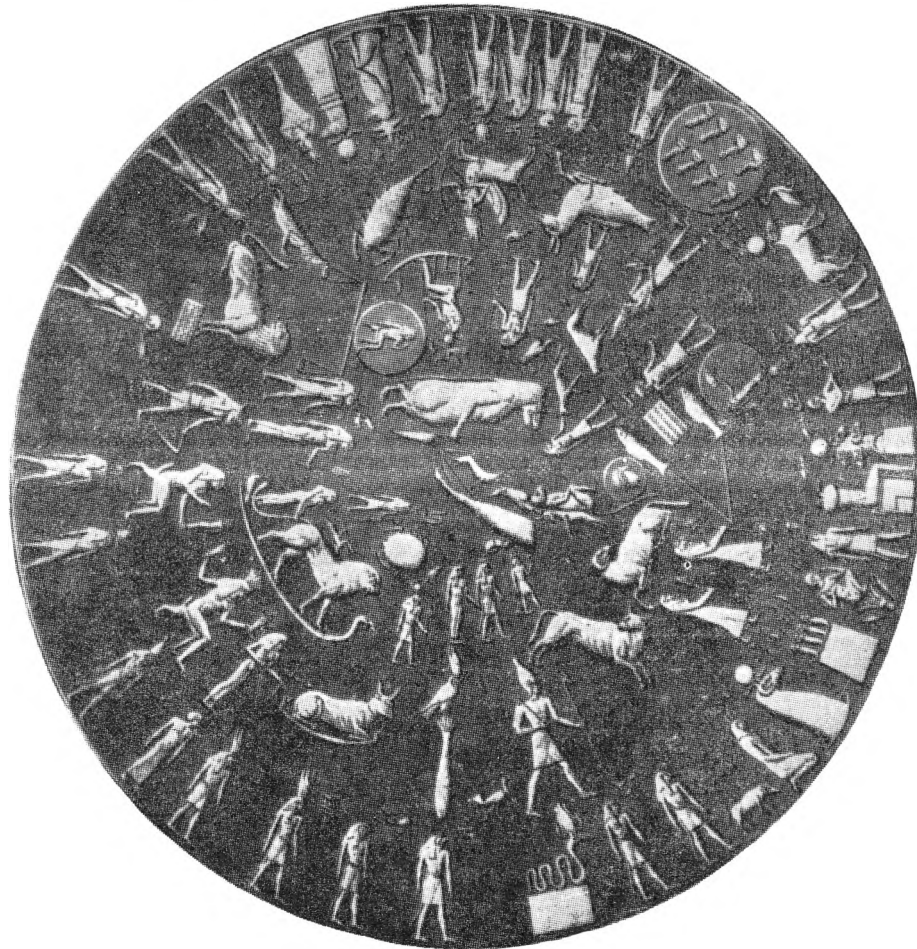


Fig. 18. Tierkreisdarstellung im Hathor-Tempel in Dendera.
(*Description d'Égypte t. IV pl. 21*)

gesellen sich in den Texten aus dem siebenten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert noch vier weitere: Stier, Schütze, Steinbock und Fische. Davon sind übrigens der Schütze und der Steinbock schon im zweiten Jahrtausend bildlich dargestellt,

¹⁾ Vgl. B. LANDSBERGER, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon* 8/II (1962), S. 93f.

der Schütze als ein bogenschiessender Kentaur, der Steinbock als ein Mischwesen aus Bock und Karpfen ¹⁾.

Damit wäre also bewiesen, dass unsere Tierkreisbilder und neun von ihren Namen sumerisch-akkadischer Herkunft sind.

Ich zeige Ihnen jetzt ein astrales Symbol aus Babylonien, abgebildet auf einem um 1200 vor Chr. hergestellten Grenzstein, und daneben die Darstellung des Schützen in dem etwa 1200 Jahre jüngeren runden Tierkreis aus Dendera.

Sie sehen in beiden Fällen ein bogenschiessendes Wesen mit einer Art Krone, dem Kopf eines Menschen und dem Kopf eines Hundes nebeneinander, menschlichem Oberkörper, Flügeln, Unterkörper eines Pferdes, dem Schwanz eines Skorpions und dem Schwanz eines Pferdes nebeneinander, sowie mit der Abbildung eines Skorpions in der Nähe.

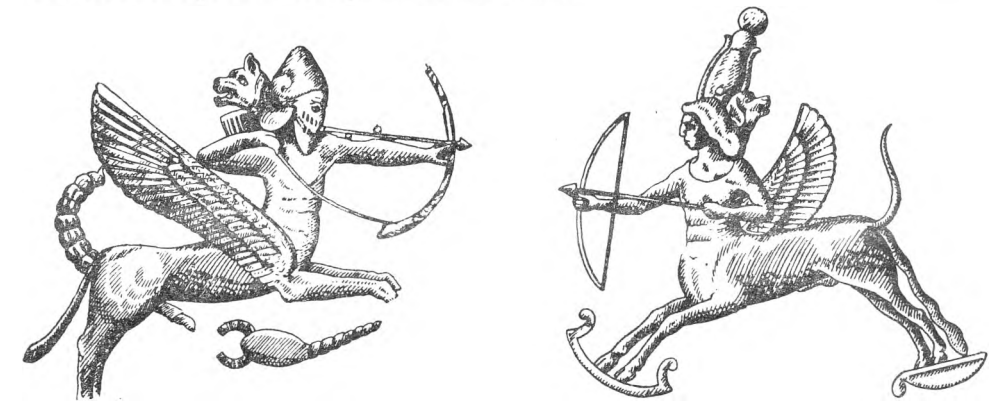


Fig. 19. Schützen als astrales Symbol; links wie abgebildet auf einem babylonischen Grenzstein, rechts aus einem Tierkreis von Dendera.

Und jetzt sehen Sie nebeneinander das schon erwähnte Mischwesen aus Bock und Karpfen, wie es auf einem babylonischen Grenzstein aus der gleichen Zeit abgebildet ist, und den Steinbock aus dem Tierkreis von Dendera (Fig. 20).

Damit wäre die soeben geäußerte These zum Überflus für die Tierkreisbilder Schütze, Skorpion und Steinbock noch einmal bewiesen.

Der älteste Keilschrifttext, der die vollständige Reihe von zwölf Tierkreisbildern in der richtigen Reihenfolge aufzählt, enthält leider kein Datum. Nach der Schrift setzt man ihn fragend etwa in das fünfte vorchristliche Jahrhundert, d.h. also in eine Periode, da die babylonische politische Geschichte schon vorbei war und Babylonien zum persischen Reich gehörte. Ausser den zwölf Tierkreisbildern enthält er nur noch die Namen der ihnen entsprechenden zwölf Monate des Jahres ²⁾.

¹⁾ Vgl. übrigens D. EDZARD, bei H. HAUSSIG, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I/I, S. 100, a und c.

²⁾ E. WEIDNER, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie* I (1915), S. 121f. = BUDGE u.a., *Legends of creation* (1931), S. 27 und 75.

Den ältesten Beleg für den Gebrauch von Tierkreisbildern als Tierkreiszeichen, d.h. also als Bezeichnung für jeweils 30° der Ekliptik, glaubte man längere Zeit in einem Text aus dem Jahre 419 vor Chr. zu besitzen; erst kürzlich wurde nachgewiesen, dass das auf einem Irrtum beruhte¹⁾. Mit absoluter Sicherheit sind die Tierkreiszeichen in Babylonien erst in den letzten drei Jahrhunderten vor Chr., der grossen Blütezeit der babylonischen Astronomie, nachweisbar. In Griechenland sind sie bereits um 370 vor Chr. belegt, und zwar bei Eudoxos. Erwägungen astronomischer Art sollen trotzdem dafür sprechen, dass Eudoxos die Tierkreiszeichen von den Babyloniern übernommen hat, und nicht umgekehrt²⁾ — aber hier endet meine Kompetenz.

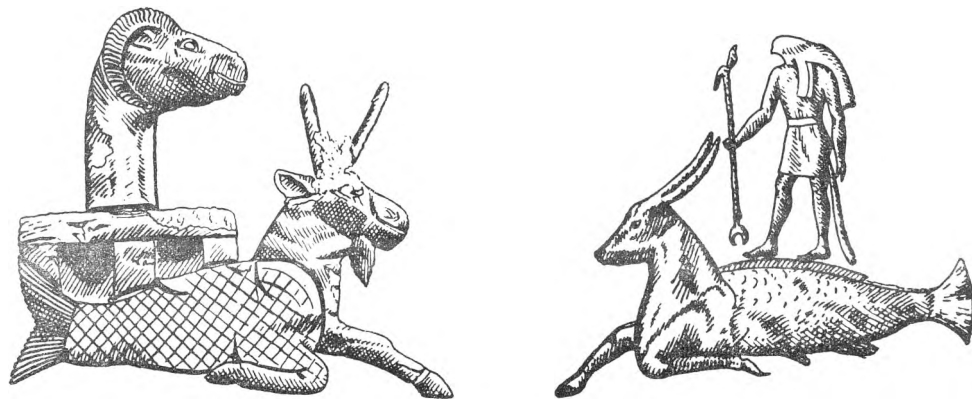


Fig. 20. Mischwesen aus Bock und Karpfen; links von einem babylonischen Grenzstein, rechts von einem Tierkreis aus Dendera (AfO 16, S. 227)

Infolge der sogenannten Präzession verlagern sich die Tierkreiszeichen langsam nach rückwärts, entgegengesetzt der Zeichenfolge, sodass jetzt das Sternbild Widder im Zeichen Stier steht usw.; erst in etwa 24000 Jahren werden Zeichen und Sternbilder sich wieder decken. Das wurde festgestellt von dem hellenistischen Astronomen Hipparchos, etwa 150 vor Chr. Seit 1927 wurde als gesichertes Ergebnis angenommen, dass es sich bei Hipparchos um eine Neuentdeckung handelte; der erste Entdecker wäre der Babylonier Kidinnu (Kidenas) gewesen, der seine Entdeckung 379 vor Chr. gemacht hätte. Inzwischen hat jedoch der früher in Göttingen tätige Mathematiker und Astronom OTTO NEUGEBAUER die dafür gebrauchten Argumente schlagend wider-

¹⁾ A. SACHS, bei NEUGEBAUER, *Exact sciences*², S. 140. Bei der Datierung des sogleich zu erwähnenden Horoskops für 410 vor Chr. geht SACHS von dem Gedanken aus, dass in diesem Text Tierkreiszeichen, nicht -bilder gemeint seien; ich kann nicht beurteilen, ob man nun dieses Horoskop als ältesten Beleg für die Tierkreiszeichen werten kann.

²⁾ Vgl. VAN DER WAERDEN, AfO 16 (1952/3), S. 224ff. und JNES 10, S. 27f.

legt¹⁾. Die Entdeckung der Verschiebung von Zeichen und Sternbildern bleibt also eine Geistestat der hellenistischen Astronomie.

Deutung der Zukunft auf Grund von Erscheinungen am Sternhimmel ist bei den Sumerern noch nicht belegt, aber bei den Babyloniern schon in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends nachweisbar; mehr Texte haben wir aus der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahrtausends, riesige Mengen aus dem ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. Für zahllose Erscheinungen an der Sonne, am Mond, an den Planeten und an dem gestirnten Himmel, sowie für meteorologische Erscheinungen wurden die entsprechenden Deutungen in „Handbüchern“ festgelegt²⁾. Keine Frage, die Astrologie stammt aus Babylonien. Es ist kein Zufall, dass die Babylonier, in diesem Zusammenhang von den Römern, sowie im Bibelbuch Daniel Chaldäer genannt, in der hellenistischen und römischen Welt als Sterndeuter bekannt bzw. berüchtigt waren.

Auf eine besondere Erscheinungsform der Astrologie müssen wir noch kurz eingehen, nämlich auf die Horoskopie³⁾. Ein Horoskop deutet die Zukunft eines einzelnen Menschen nach dem Stand der Planeten, der Sonne und des Mondes am Augenblick seiner Geburt oder seiner Erzeugung. Aus antiken Quellen ist über die Horoskopie in der Zeit vor 200 vor Chr. kaum etwas bekannt. Das älteste erhaltene griechische Horoskop stammt aus dem Jahre 62 vor Chr. Für die Entstehung der Horoskopie waren in Babylonien, wo die nicht-horoskopische Astrologie sich schon so über alle Massen entwickelt hatte, die nötigen Bedingungen vorhanden. Tatsächlich verfügen wir jetzt über fast 20 babylonische horoskopische Texte. Das älteste babylonische Horoskop beschreibt sehr wahrscheinlich den Stand der Sterne am 29. April des Jahres 410 vor Chr., also unter dem persischen König Darius II. Sicher datierbare Texte beziehen sich auf die Jahre 288, 263, 238 usw. vor Chr.; sie stammen also aus dem Zeitalter des Hellenismus. Auf Grund dieser Daten scheint es recht wahrscheinlich, dass die Horoskopie auf babylonischem Boden entstanden ist, wenn auch erst längere Zeit nach dem Ende des neubabylonischen Reiches, und weiter, dass Einfluss von auswärts dabei kaum eine Rolle gespielt haben kann. Nachher ist die Horoskopie freilich in der antiken Welt viel subtiler ausgearbeitet worden.

Eine andere eigenartige Methode, die Zukunft zu erforschen, ist die sog. Haruspizin oder Hepatoskopie, also die Opfer- bzw. Leberschau. Opfertiere wurden aufgeschnitten, und aus der Form bestimmter Organe, namentlich Leber und Lungen, wurden künftige Ereignisse abgelesen. Auch dieses Verfahren ist bei den Sumerern noch nicht belegt, bei den Babyloniern jedoch

¹⁾ NEUGEBAUER, JAOS 70 (1950), S. 1ff.

²⁾ Vgl. WEIDNER, AfO 14 (1941/4), S. 172ff.

³⁾ Vgl. SACHS, JCS 6 (1952), S. 49ff., sowie id., *Late Babylonian astronomical and related texts* (1955), S. XXXIV, Nr. 1458-1476.

schon am Anfang des zweiten Jahrtausends, wenn nicht noch früher ¹⁾. Zahllose Texte, von der altbabylonischen Periode bis in die Spätzeit hinein geschrieben bzw. abgeschrieben, liefern die erforderlichen Deutungen auch für den geringfügigsten Auswuchs, Riss oder was sich sonst noch irgendwie als Beobachtungsmaterial an diesen Körperteilen gebrauchen bzw. missbrauchen lässt. Ein gewissenhafter Opferschau priester hat es bestimmt nicht leicht gehabt, sich in sein Fach einzuarbeiten. Glücklicherweise hatte er aber neben seinen offiziellen „Handbüchern“ auch anschauliches Unterrichtsmaterial, das ihm sein Studium erleichtern konnte. Es handelt sich hier um Modelle der in Frage kommenden Tierorgane: Leber, Lungen, gelegentlich auch Eingeweide. Sie waren aus Ton gebildet und enthalten oft kurze Inschriften, die Erscheinungen an den betreffenden Stellen irgendwie deuten oder beschreiben. Diese Tonmodelle stellen nun ein ausgezeichnetes „Leitfossil“ dar für die Ausstrahlung dieser zuerst im Zweistromland nachweisbaren Praktiken über das alte Vorderasien — und die Welt der Antike. Ich möchte hier einmal das einschlägige Material kurz zusammenstellen. Die Eingeweidezeichnungen bleiben dabei ausser Betracht.

Aus der Zeit kurz nach 2000 vor Chr. haben wir 32 beschriftete Modelle, sowie ein unbeschriftetes Exemplar aus der damals babylonischen Stadt Mari am mittleren Euphrat (PL. XIX, c) ²⁾. Aus dem eigentlichen Babylonien haben wir fünf oder sechs Modelle, alle beschriftet und ebenfalls aus der altbabylonischen Periode (PL. XVIII, A) ³⁾. Aus dem assyrischen Bereich haben wir zwei beschriftete Modelle ⁴⁾, sowie eine auf ähnliche Weise beschriftete Tontafel ⁵⁾, alle drei etwa aus dem siebenten Jahrhundert.

Soweit die Exemplare aus dem Zweistromland. Es sind aber auch verschiedene in syrischen Städten gefunden worden. In Alalach kam ein unbeschriftetes Exemplar etwa aus dem 17. Jahrhundert vor Chr. zum Vorschein (PL. XIX, B) ⁶⁾. In Ugarit fand man kürzlich 15 Leber- und Lungenmodelle, von denen fünf in ugaritischer Keilschrift beschriftet waren; sie sind ein paar Jahrhunderte jünger ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ M. RUTTEN, RA 35 (1938), S. 36ff., vgl. I. GELB, ib. 50 (1956), S. 1 ff.

²⁾ Siehe Anm. 1.

³⁾ TH. PINCHES, *Cuneiform texts* 6 (1898), Tf. 1ff, mit Abb. (PL. XVIII, A; Photo British Museum, publiziert mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Trustees), und A. GOETZE, *Old Babylonian omen texts* (1947) = YOS 10, Nr. 1, 3, 4 und 5 (Tf. CXXXIV). Die Herkunft des Modells AO 8894 wird bei Rutten nicht angegeben.

⁴⁾ A. BOISSIER, *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne* I (1905), S. 76ff., Tf. I-II (Lunge) und M. MALLOWAN, *Illustrated London News* 6093 (28. Januar 1956), S. 129, Abb. 4 und 5 = AfO 17 (1954/6), S. 427.

⁵⁾ E. EBELING, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (1915/23), Nr. 444.

⁶⁾ L. WOOLLEY, *Alalach* (1955), S. 250ff., Tf. LIX, id. *A forgotten kingdom* (1953), Tf. 14, d (Lunge).

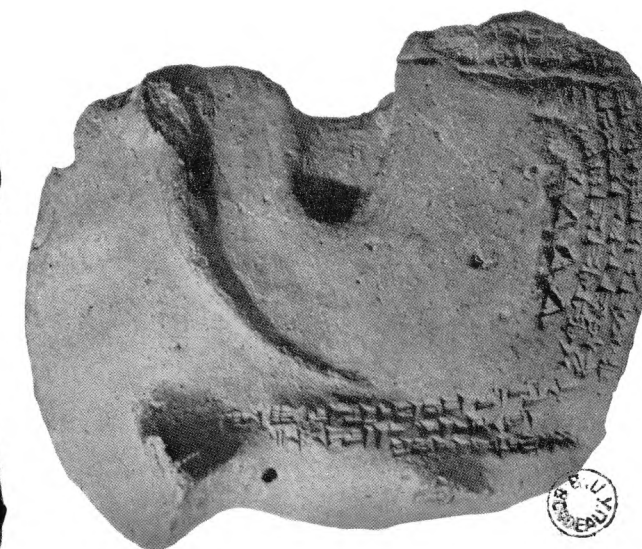
⁷⁾ AfO 20 (1963), S. 210, 213 und 215.



A

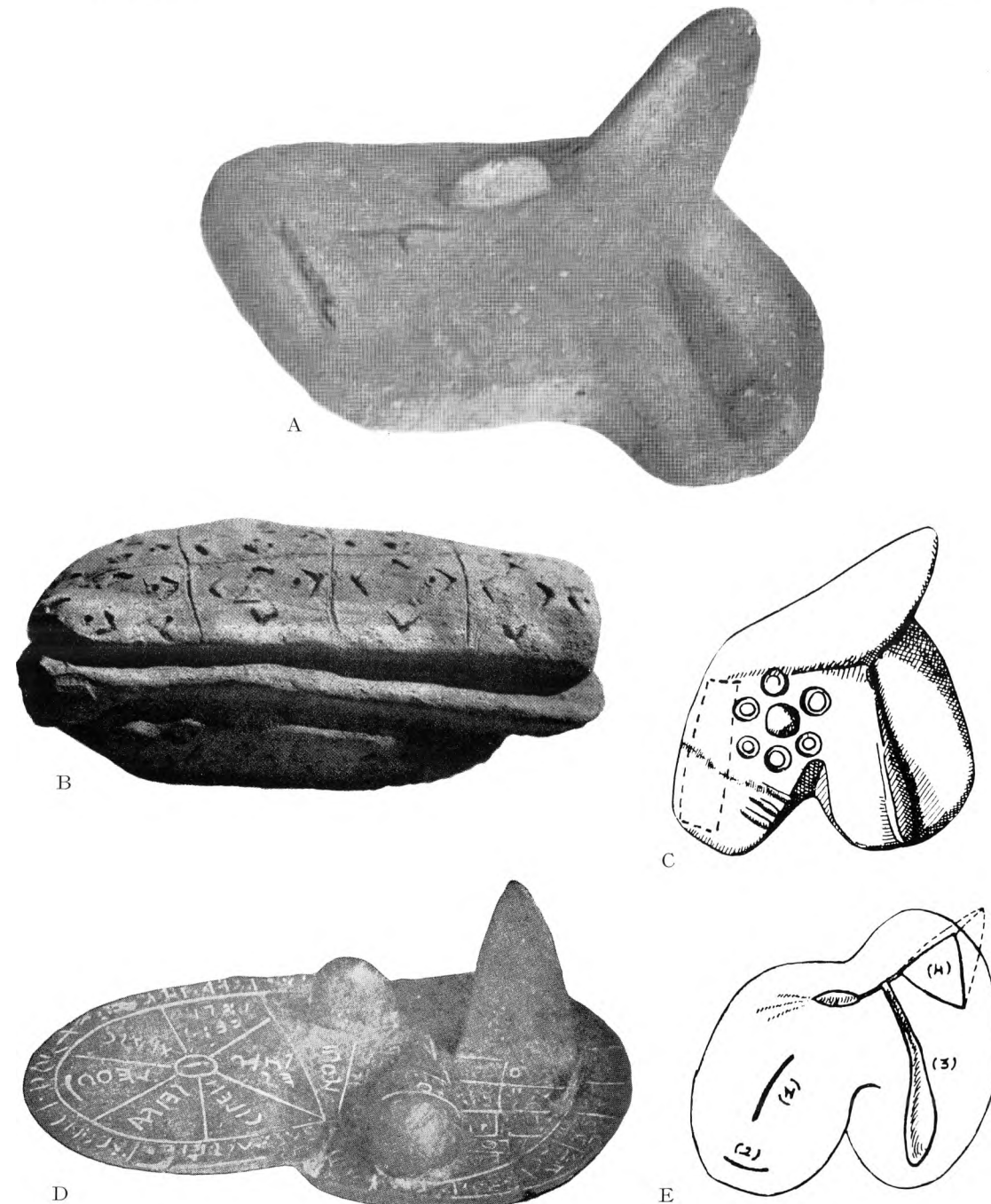


B



C

Beschriftete Lebermodelle aus Ton. A. aus Babylonien (PINCHES, CT VI pl. 1); B. aus Hazor (YADIN, ILN 6250, S. 481, Abb. 14); C. aus Boghazköi (BOISSIER, *Mantique babylonienne et mantique hittite*, pl. III).



Lebermodelle: A. aus Megiddo (LOUD, Megiddo II, Tf. 255, 1); B. aus Alalach (WOOLLEY, A forgotten kingdom, Tf. 14 d); C. aus Mari (RUTTEN, RA 35, 1938, S. 65, Tf. XIV Abb. 27); D. aus Piacenza (JEREMIAS, Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur S. 260, Abb. 152); E. aus Falerii (NOUGAYROL, CRAI 1955, S. 513 c).

Sogar aus dem kanaanitischen Palästina haben wir drei Exemplare. Zwei unbeschriftete fand man in Megiddo (PL. XIX, A)¹⁾. Ein vor wenigen Jahren in Hazor gefundenes Lebermodell enthält eine babylonische Inschrift, die übrigens nicht von einem Babylonier, sondern von einem einheimischen Schreiber angebracht worden ist (PL. XVIII, B)²⁾.

Etwa aus der Zeit zwischen 1500 und 1200 stammen die in der Hauptstadt des hethitischen Reiches, Hattusas-Boghazköi, gefundenen Modelle, von denen bis jetzt nicht weniger als 35 Exemplare publiziert sind (PL. XVIII, c)³⁾. Sie alle enthalten babylonische, gelegentlich auch hethitische Inschriften.

Soweit die Exemplare aus dem alten Vorderasien.

Im Jahre 1877 wurde bei Piacenza in der Poebene ein Lebermodell aus Bronze gefunden (PL. XIX, D). Ebenso wie das schönste altbabylonische Exemplar ist es durch Linien in Felder aufgeteilt. In jedes Feld sind ein oder mehr Namen etruskischer Gottheiten eingetragen, die mit dem betreffenden Feld auf irgendwelche Weise verbunden waren. Nach der Form der verwendeten etruskischen Schrift soll das Bronzmodell nicht älter sein als drittes Jahrhundert vor Chr. Schliesslich kam ein Lebermodell zum Vorschein in der etruskischen Stadt Falerii Veteres, nicht sehr weit von Rom (PL. XIX, E). Da Falerii Veteres 241 vor Chr. von den Römern entvölkert und zerstört worden ist, muss diese Leber vor diesem Jahre entstanden sein. Wie sämtliche in Vorderasien gefundenen Modelle ist auch dieses aus Ton hergestellt. Es ist unbeschriftet. Was seine Form anlangt, so ist es von den Modellen aus Vorderasien fast nicht zu unterscheiden⁴⁾.

Es erscheint doch wohl unumgänglich, die beiden etruskischen Exemplare als Ausläufer der babylonischen Opferschaukunst zu betrachten, die sich vorher schon über Syrien, Palästina und Kleinasien ausgebreitet hatte — obwohl man natürlich gern im Stande sein möchte, noch ein paar weitere Zwischenstationen nachzuweisen. Wenn Herodot (I 94) letzten Endes doch recht haben sollte mit seiner Behauptung, die Etrusker stammten aus Lydien, also aus Kleinasien und demnach gar nicht so weit von dem Gebiet entfernt, wo einst die Hethiter sich so intensiv mit Lebermodellen beschäftigt hatten, könnte man freilich diese Zwischenstationen entbehren.

Aus der lateinischen Literatur ist bekannt, dass die Etrusker anerkannte Meister der Haruspizin waren, und dass die Römer unter ihrem Einfluss sich ebenfalls sehr intensiv mit der Opferschau beschäftigt haben bzw. sich von

¹⁾ G. LOUD, *Megiddo* II (1948), Tf. 255 (PL. XIX, A); publiziert mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Oriental Institute, Chicago), vgl. AfO 11 (1936/7), S. 269.

²⁾ Y. YADIN, *Illustrated London News* 6250 (21. März 1959), S. 481, Abb. 14 = AfO 19 (1959/60), S. 240.

³⁾ E. LAROCHE, *RHA* Heft 59 (1956), S. 98, Nr. 206 und 207, sowie H. OTTEN, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* 9 (1957), Nr. 57-67.

⁴⁾ J. NOUGAYROL, *CRAI*, 1955, S. 509ff.

Etruskern darüber beraten liessen, sowohl im Staats- wie im Privatleben. Eine Bedrohung ihrer Existenz erstand der Haruspizin erst, als das römische Kaiserreich christlich geworden war, und auch da nur langsam. Erst im sechsten und siebenten Jahrhundert nach Chr. kam das Ende ¹⁾.

Durch die Akkadistik ist also mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit für zwei wichtige Bereiche des Aberglaubens eine sich über vier bzw. fast drei Jahrtausende ausdehnende Entwicklung nachgewiesen, deren Ursprung im Zweistromland liegt.

Ein schönes Beispiel, wie sehr im Hellenismus ägyptische, babylonische und griechische Elemente verschmolzen sind, welche sich in dieser Verschmelzung unter Umständen bis heute erhalten haben, stellt die Tageseinteilung dar.

Bei den Ägyptern wurde seit dem Ende des dritten Jahrtausends die Nacht in zwölf Teile aufgeteilt. Die Zwölfzahl ergab sich nach NEUGEBAUER aus den Tatsachen, dass die alten Ägypter Wochen zu je zehn Tagen hatten und für die Nacht eine bestimmte Art Sternuhr gebrauchten — ich brauche seine Beweisführung hier natürlich nicht zu wiederholen. Dazu gesellte sich um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends eine analoge Einteilung des Lichttages — für Einzelheiten verweise ich abermals auf NEUGEBAUER. Damit war aber zum ersten Male der ganze Tag in 12 + 12 Stunden aufgeteilt. Da nun aber Tag und Nacht nur zweimal im Jahre gleich lang dauern, wechselte auch die Länge der Stunden: eine Tagesstunde dauerte im Sommer viel länger als im Winter, eine Stunde der Nacht war dagegen im Winter viel länger ²⁾.

Im Zweistromland war der Tag auf die gleiche Weise eingeteilt wie das Jahr. Das Jahr bestand schematisch aus zwölf Monaten zu je 30 Tagen, wobei der Unterschied zwischen dem Mondjahr und dem Sonnenjahr durch Schaltmonate ausgeglichen wurde ³⁾. Also:

$$1 \text{ Jahr} = 12 \text{ Monate} = 360 \text{ Tage.}$$

Dem entsprach die Einteilung des Tages:

$$1 \text{ Tag} = 12 \text{ DANNA (biru)} = 360 \text{ GEŠ.}$$

Ein DANNA entspricht demnach zwei Stunden, wie wir sie kennen, ein GEŠ dauerte vier Minuten. Im Gegensatz zu der ägyptischen Praxis dauerte jede Stunde gleich lang, unabhängig von der Länge des Tages und der Nacht. Die gleichen Bezeichnungen wurden übrigens auch gebraucht für die Strecken, die man in diesen Zeitspannen zu Fuss zurücklegen kann; demnach 1 DANNA = ca. 11 km, 1 GEŠ = ca. 360 m ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 14. Halbband (1912), Sp. 2431ff.

²⁾ NEUGEBAUER, a.a.O. (S. 319, Anm. 1), S. 80ff., sowie NEUGEBAUER und R. PARKER, *Egyptian astronomical texts I* (1960), S. 95-121.

³⁾ Vgl. NEUGEBAUER, JNES 1 (1942), S. 400f.

⁴⁾ Vgl. F. THUREAU-DANDIN, *Esquisse d'une histoire du système sexagésimal* (1932), S. 41ff. und 68ff., sowie VAN DER WAERDEN, a.a.O. (S. 193, Anm. 1) 10, S. 20ff.

Da nun diese Zeiteinheiten naturgemäss eng verknüpft sind mit der Bewegung der Himmelskörper, kam man spätestens im 7. Jahrhundert vor Chr. ¹⁾ dazu, die Bahnen der Sonne, des Mondes und der Sterne, die uns jeden Tag einmal zu umkreisen scheinen, nach diesen Zeiteinheiten zu messen. Auf diese Weise wurden die von ihnen beschriebenen Kreise gleichfalls in je 12 DANNA bzw. 360 GEŠ aufgeteilt — und damit war unsere Aufteilung des Kreises in 360° entstanden. Aus der babylonischen Jahreseinteilung entstand also die babylonische Tageseinteilung, und aus dieser entstand wiederum die Einteilung der Himmelkugel und des Kreises in 360 Grad ²⁾.

Wie kommen wir nun aber dazu, die Grade des Kreises und die Stunden in 60 Minuten zu je 60 Sekunden aufzuteilen? Um diese Frage zu beantworten, müssen wir uns einen Augenblick mit babylonischer Rechenkunst beschäftigen ³⁾.

Die Babylonier haben im täglichen Leben für ihre Berechnungen, genau so wie wir, ein dezimales System gebraucht, d.h. ein Zahlensystem, das die Zahl 10 als Grundlage benutzt. Wie dieses System entstanden ist, ist deutlich genug: das natürliche Hilfsmittel für Berechnungen stellen nun einmal unsere zehn Finger dar.

Daneben bestand ein sexagesimales System, d.h. ein System, bei dem die Zahl 60 die Grundlage bildete, die Zahl 10 freilich auch bedeutsam war. Es wurde gebraucht für mathematische und astronomische Berechnungen. Es hatte nur zwei Zahlfiguren, nämlich den senkrechten Keil und den Winkelhaken.

Der senkrechte Keil (∇) bedeutete 1, 60, 60², 60³ usw., aber auch 1/60, 1/60² usw. Sein Wert wechselte also nach seiner Position. Dieses Positionssystem ist uns nicht fremd, denn die Zahlfigur 1 kann bei uns auch, je nach ihrer Position, sowohl 1, wie 10, 100, 1000 usw., oder auch 0,1, 0,01, 0,001 usw. bedeuten.

Der Winkelhaken (◁) bedeutete 10, 10.60, 10.60² usw., aber auch 10/60, 10/60² usw.

So bedeutet z.B. ein senkrechter Keil + zwei Winkelhaken + fünf senkrechte Keile (∇◁◁◁◁): 60 + 25 = 85 (1,25);

$$1 + 25/60 = 1 \frac{5}{12} = 1,416666 \dots (1; 25);$$

$$1/60 + 25/3600 = 17/720 = 0,02361111 \dots (0; 1,25) \text{ usw.}$$

¹⁾ Diese Ansetzung auf Grund des Textes K 9794 (WEIDNER, a.a.O. (S. 321, Anm. 2), S. 131ff., vgl. auch THUREAU-DANGIN, RA 27 (1930), S. 53f.).

²⁾ Siehe S. 326, Anm. 4.

³⁾ Vgl. zum Folgenden THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syst. sex.*, S. 16ff., NEUGEBAUER, *Exact sciences*², S. 3ff. und 29ff., VAN DER WAERDEN, *Erwachende Wissenschaft* (1956), S. 59ff. und K. VOGEL, *Vorgriechische Mathematik II: Die Mathematik der Babylonier* (1959).

Auf welche Weise das Sexagesimalsystem entstanden ist, wissen wir nicht genau. Jedenfalls ist es von den Sumerern, im dritten Jahrtausend vor Chr. erfunden worden. Es ist aber durchaus klar, warum man es beibehalten hat: es ist nämlich, was man auf den ersten Blick nicht vermuten würde, hervorragend praktisch.

Es gibt viele Brüche, die wir nicht dezimal schreiben können, wie z.B. $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{7}$, $\frac{1}{9}$ usw., und die wir also als gemeine Brüche notieren müssen, wenn wir mit ihnen genaue Berechnungen durchführen wollen. Da 60, 600 usw. durch viel mehr Zahlen dividiert werden kann als 10, 100 usw., hat der Benutzer eines Sexagesimalsystems hier wesentlich weniger Schwierigkeiten. Von den soeben genannten vier dezimal nicht notierbaren Brüchen kann nur einer nicht sexagesimal notiert werden. Sämtliche dezimal notierbaren Brüche machen auch sexagesimal keine Schwierigkeiten.

Durch die Erfindung der dezimalen Bruchnotierung, d.h. also durch das dezimale Komma, können wir mit den Brüchen, die sich dezimal notieren lassen, ebenso leicht genaue Berechnungen durchführen wie mit ganzen Zahlen. Das Gleiche ist möglich bei dem babylonischen Sexagesimalsystem. Zwar musste der sexagesimale ABC-Schütze mehr Rechentafeln parat haben als sein dezimaler Kollege, hatte dann aber auch mehr Möglichkeiten als dieser — zumal wenn er astronomische Berechnungen mit Minuten und Sekunden zu bewältigen hatte.

Es ist somit durchaus verständlich, dass die Babylonier die Grade (GEŠ) in je 60 Teile unterteilten, zumal da ein babylonisches Längenmass vorhanden war, das genau $\frac{1}{60}$ GEŠ betrug (das NINDA bzw. *akalu*, ca. 6 m), und dass diese NINDA-Einheiten ihrerseits auch wieder in je 60 Teilchen zerfielen usw.

So würde ein Babylonier z.B. sagen, dass die Sonne in einem bestimmten Monat 28 55 57 58 zurücklegt. Wir würden das folgendermassen notieren: 28°, 55', 57'', 58''' (28 Grad, 55 Minuten, 57 Sekunden, 58 Terzien) — d.h. also praktisch auf die gleiche Weise, wie es die Babylonier getan haben!

Die virtuos sexagesimalen Berechnungen und Tabellen der babylonischen Astronomen müssen auf ihre griechisch-hellenistischen Kollegen grossen Eindruck gemacht haben. So erklärt es sich, dass der berühmteste Astronom der antiken Welt, Ptolemaeus, der ca. 150 nach Chr. in Alexandrien sein „Almagest“ schrieb, für seine astronomischen Berechnungen das sexagesimale System seiner babylonischen Vorgänger übernommen hat — freilich nur für die Brüche, nicht auch für die ganzen Zahlen. Natürlich haben die Griechen dabei statt des Keiles und des Winkelhakens ihre eigenen Zahlzeichen gebraucht: die ersten neun Buchstaben ihres Alphabets für die Zahlen 1-9, die nächsten neun für die Zahlen 10-90 und die letzten neun für die Zahlen 100-900. Ptolemaeus schrieb also die ganzen Zahlen nach einem dezimalen System, das noch kein Positionssystem darstellte und demnach nicht sonderlich geschmei-

dig war, die Brüche jedoch nach dem sexagesimalen Positionssystem. Das ist, gelinde gesagt, keine sonderlich glückliche Kombination gewesen. Aber glücklich oder nicht, sie hat sich dank dem Einfluss, den Ptolemaeus noch auf die moderne Astronomie ausgeübt hat, durchgesetzt. Daher schreiben auch wir noch z.B.: 129°, 37', 22'', 36'''. Konsequent sexagesimal würde das lauten: 2, 9; 37, 22, 36°. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass Copernicus in seinen Tabellen gern solche konsequent sexagesimalen Notierungen gebraucht, und sich also unbewusst an die babylonische Praxis angeschlossen hat ¹⁾.

Hatten somit die Griechen das babylonische Positionssystem nur für die Brüche übernommen, so taucht es bei den Indern, spätestens im siebenten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, ausschliesslich für die ganzen Zahlen auf. Hier ist es jedoch ins Dezimale übertragen und hier sind auch unsere Zahlfiguren entstanden. Das heisst also, dass die Inder die ganzen Zahlen damals fast genau so schrieben, wie wir es jetzt noch tun. Die Araber haben dieses System von den Indern übernommen und nach Europa weitertradiert, wo es gegen Ende des Mittelalters die so masslos unpraktischen lateinischen Ziffern verdrängt hat.

So ging aber, wenn wir von Copernicus' Tabellen absehen, die Einheitlichkeit des babylonischen Systems auf zwei verschiedene Weisen sowohl bei den Griechen, wie bei den Indern, Arabern und Europäern verloren. Sie wurde erst wieder hergestellt, als ca. 1400 in Samarkand der persische Astronom al-Kāschī, und 1585 der belgische Mathematiker Simon Stevin durch die Erfindung der dezimalen Brüche seit anderthalb Jahrtausend endlich wieder einmal ein sowohl für ganze Zahlen, wie für Brüche verwendbares, konsequentes Positionssystem schufen ²⁾.

Damit wäre also geklärt, wie wir zu unserer Einteilung des Kreises, der Himmelkugel und dementsprechend auch des Erdkreises in Grade, Minuten, Sekunden und Terzien gekommen sind.

Bei der Einteilung des Tages ist die Lage etwas verwickelter. Wie wir sahen, hatten die Ägypter Lichttag und Nacht in 12 + 12 fast immer ungleiche Stunden aufgeteilt. Die Babylonier gebrauchten für die gleiche Zeitspanne nur 12, immer gleiche Zeiteinheiten. Im Hellenismus hat man die Gesamtzahl 24 von den Ägyptern, die Gleichheit der Stunden jedoch von den Babyloniern übernommen. So machten es wenigstens die Astronomen; im täglichen Leben begnügte man sich mit den sich nur beim Anfang des Frühlings und beim Anfang des Herbstes mit einander deckenden Tages- und Nachtstunden ³⁾. Die Einteilung der Stunde in 60 Minuten zu je 60 Sekunden, die

¹⁾ Vgl. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syst. sex.*, S. 73ff., NEUGEBAUER, *Exact sciences*², S. 16f. und 22f.

²⁾ Vgl. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syst. sex.*, S. 78ff. und NEUGEBAUER, *Exact sciences*², S. 23.

³⁾ Siehe S. 326, Anm. 2.

übrigens bei Ptolemaeus noch nicht vorkommt und erstmalig zwei Jahrhunderte später bei seinem Kommentator Theon von Alexandrien belegt ist ¹⁾, beruht auf dem Sexagesimalsystem der Babylonier, obwohl bei diesen das GEŠ, das, wie wir sahen, vier modernen Minuten entspricht, vielmehr 1/30 des DANNA darstellte, und die Aufteilung des GEŠ in 60 NINDA (ein NINDA also vier moderne Sekunden) mangels Präzisionsuhren natürlich nicht viel zu bedeuten hatte.

Merkwürdigerweise behauptet Herodot (II 109), dass die Griechen ausser zwei bestimmten astronomischen Geräten auch, wie er sagt, „die zwölf Teile des Tages“ von den Babyloniern übernommen hätten. Wenn das stimmt, und wenn er mit „Tag“ „Lichttag + Nacht“ meint, so muss man annehmen, dass die Griechen in fünften vorchristlichen Jahrhundert wie die Babylonier Lichttag + Nacht in zwölf gleich lange „Doppelstunden“ aufgeteilt haben ²⁾. In dem Fall würde unsere von den hellenistischen Astronomen stammende Tageseinteilung auf einer babylonischen Praxis beruhen, die die Griechen schon lange vor dem Hellenismus übernommen hätten, und die im Hellenismus nachträglich an die ägyptische Praxis angepasst wäre. Diese Auffassung wäre, soweit ich sehen kann, sonst nicht zu erhärten, aber ebensowenig zu widerlegen.

Göttingen

R. BORGER

¹⁾ Vgl. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syst. sex.*, S. 76f.

²⁾ Vgl. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syst. sex.*, S. 46f. Siehe allerdings auch VAN DER WAERDEN, JNES 10, S. 26f.

BEMERKUNGEN ZUR SUMERISCH-AKKADISCHEN BRENNHOLZ-TERMINOLOGIE

Folgende Bemerkungen stammen aus dem Material, das ich für meinen Artikel *Die Öfen der alten Mesopotamier*, ERNST HEINRICH-Festschrift sammelte. Auf Vollständigkeit der Brennholz-Terminologie wird nicht gezielt. Es handelt sich hier nur um Beiträge zu der Brennstofffrage, die bisher sehr wenig behandelt worden ist; vgl. THOMPSON, *ACG* und LIMET, *Le travail du métal*, S. 116 (Le combustible). Äusserst kurz und unzulänglich ist der Artikel „Brennmaterial“ in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, S. 61 f.

Da es in Babylonien sehr wenig Holz gab und da man Holz in grossen Mengen zu Bauarbeiten und zur Tischlerei brauchte, musste man so viel wie möglich nur minderwertiges Holz in den Öfen brennen. Eine Ausnahme machten die grossen Schmelz- und Brennöfen der Metallarbeiter, für die man sogar ganz genau bestimmte und bemessene Holzklötze zum Kohlenbrennen brauchte.

A. BRENNHOLZ

Ein allgemeines Wort für das in den Küchen- und Heizöfen verwendete Holz scheint ú zu sein, das man mit „Brennholz, firewood“ übersetzen kann; vgl. LANDSBERGER, JNES VIII (1949) S. 275f. Anm. 86 und FALKENSTEIN, JAOS 72 (1952) S. 43. Es bedeutet wohl „holzähnlicher Brennstoff“, ausdrücklich minderwertiges Holz wie Zweige, Äste, Reiser, Reisig usw., das sich nicht zu Bauzwecken und als Material des Tischlers eignet.

Dieses minderwertige Holz wurde oft im sumpfigen Gelände gesammelt. Darauf weist schon das sumerische Sprichwort E. GORDON, *Sumerian Proverbs* Nr. 2. 133 (S. 268) hin: ú-ri-ri-ga kalag-ga-šè si-ga bar-rim₄-ma mu-un-na-an-tuš „Collecting firewood (is) for the strong (to do); he makes the weak wait(?) for him on dry land“, wozu GORDON: „This proverb seems to imply that the places where firewood was collected were marshy“. Auf das Sammeln von ú-Brennholz in der Wüste weist wohl das sehr fragmentarische Sprichwort GORDON Nr. 1.126 (S. 108) hin: ú dam-.[..]. edin-ta nu-sar „Firewood . . . wife . . . he did not drive from the steppe“. Dass das Sammeln von ú als eine anstrengende Arbeit angesehen wurde, die nicht der Hausfrau passte, geht auch aus zwei anderen Sprichwörtern hervor, nämlich CBS 14139 + UM 29-13-361 (GORDON, *op. cit.* S. 108): ú dam-mu na-ma-ab-íl-e „My wife should not carry (or ‘does carry’) firewood for me“ und GORDON Nr. 1.186 (S. 140): ú-íl-lá-a-na ba-da-ab-íl-e „When his firewood is to be carried, he carries it himself (?)“.

Wie wichtig das Holen von Brennholz war, geht u.a. auch aus dem Personen-namen Ū-šè-ḫé-gin „Er möge ins (Brenn-)Holz gehen!“ hervor, siehe FALKENSTEIN, *Neusum. Gerichtsurkunden*, II Nr. 1.2 und Nr. 201.5; 9; 14; SCHNEIDER, Or. XXIII 70, Nr. 1140; UET III 10.9: Ū-uš-ḫé-gin. Vgl. auch die Wendung ū-šè gin-na-mu = ša ana iši illiku „der mir zum Brennholz (-Holen) ging“.

Auf ū-Brennholz bezieht sich auch das Sprichwort GORDON Nr. 2. 139 (S. 272): ḡiṣal ū nu-kur(u)₅ ḡiṣkibir ū nu-kur(u)₅ „the pickaxe does not cut firewood, the pitchfork does not cut firewood“. Zum Schneiden des ū-Brennholzes braucht man eine aus Metall gefertigte Axt, z.B. CHIERA, *Sumerian Religious Texts* Pl. XIII, Nr. 4 Vs. 18: uruduḫa-zi-in ū kur(u)₅, vgl. VAN DIJK, *La sagesse*, S.58 und 60.

Eine Liste von verschiedenen Brennholzarten (Splitter, zerschnitten, klein gemacht, zerbrochen, dürr usw.) bietet HAR-ra = ḫubullu (abgekürzt ḫ-h) Tf. VI 67-80 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S.56f.). Dazu kommen nur wenige Worte für „Brennholz“ in der sonstigen Literatur vor.

gaššatu, Pl. gaššātu, vielleicht mit kašāšu „abhauen“ zu verknüpfen. — VON SODEN, AHW 282^b: „Brennholz“; CAD „G“ 53^b: „firewood“. — Nur nA: EBELING, *Parfümrezepte* Pl. 32.24 und 26: ḡiṣ^{MEŠ}||iṣṣē|| ša ḡiṣga-ši-ti ON inakkisū ina qabli ša ON iṣakkunū šangū . . . illak ubbala ana ḡiṣga-ši-ti iṣarraḫ „die Leute von ON (Ortsname) werden Bäume für Brennholz fällen und es in ON setzen, der Hohepriester wird kommen, es (in den Tempel) bringen und es als Brennholz brennen“. BBR Nr. 67.5 und Dupl.K 7226.6 (BA V 689): [še]^reh^r-tū ḡiṣga-ša-a-ti ḡiṣsillibanī urki paššūri tanaddi „you set up the censer (filled) with kindling material of licorice after (you have set) the table“. — Der „Brennholz-Verkäufer“ heisst ša gaššātešu: EBELING, *op. cit.* Pl. 38 Kol. III 20: LÜšá ga-ša-^rte^r-šú; vgl. EBELING, *Stiftungen* 23; Bab. VII Pl. 6 Kol. IV 32 (nA Liste von Fachleute): LÜšá ḡiṣga-[ša]-te-šú.

ḡiṣ-ḫáṣ = ḫiṣibtu, ḫiṣbu „Holzsplitter“. — ḫiṣbu (dazu ḫiṣibtu Nomen unitatis) von ḫašābu „abbrechen“. — Siehe VON SODEN, AHW 348^b: „Splitter“ von Holz; CAD „H“ 203^b: „wood shavings, pieces of cut wood“. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 67f. (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 56): ḡiṣ^{ba-áš} KUD = ḫi-iṣ-bu, ḡiṣḡi-iṣ-ditto (i.e. ḫa-áš) KUD = ḫi-ṣib-tum. — Vgl. A III/5 114: ḫa-aš KUD = ḫi-^riṣ^r-bu.

ḡiṣ-gibil = iṣu erru „dürres Brennholz“. — Für erru „dürr, moldy“ siehe VON SODEN, AHW 244^a und CAD „E“ 307^b. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 80 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 57): ḡiṣḡi-bi-il GIBIL = iṣ-šu er-ru, vorher id. = iṣu kabbu, q.v. — Diri III 14 (MEISSNER, BAW II 85): ḡiṣḡi-bil GIBÍL = iṣ-šu er-ru, vgl. Diri III 7: ḡiṣ^r-gi-bil = ḡiṣ.GIBÍL = ḡiṣ er-ru.

ḡiṣ-gibil = iṣu kabbu „glühend gemachtes Holz“. — kabbu Verbadj. von kabābu (auch gabābu) „brennen“, > jüd. aram. kbb; K. F. MÜLLER, *Das ass.*

Königsrit., S. 75 vergleicht auch arab. kabā „glimmen“ und hebr. kabā „verglimmen verlöschen“. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 79 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 57): ḡiṣḡi-iṣ-ditto (i.e. ḡi-bi-il) GIBIL = iṣ-šu kab-bu, vorher qilūtu, es folgt iṣu erru. — Diri III 12 (MEISSNER, BAW II 85) id.; vgl. Diri III 6: ḡiṣ-gi-bil = ḡiṣ.GIBÍL = ḡiṣ kab-bu. — Vgl. auch nA: K. F. MÜLLER, *Das ass. Königsrit.* Text II Kol. II 6: ka-bu-ú-te „glimmend“ gesagt von Räucherwerk, riqqē.

ḡiṣ-laḫ = iṣu šābulu „dürres Holz“. — šābulu von abālu „(aus)trocknen“. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 77 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 57): ḡiṣ^{la-aḫ} UD = iṣ-šu šā-bu-lu, vorher id. = kisittu und laḫú. — Auch ibid. Z. 74: ḡiṣḡi-iṣ-ditto (i.e. ku-tu) KUD = iṣ-šu šā-bu-lu.

ḡiṣ-ḫaš = iṣu šeburu „zerbrochenes, zerschnittenes, klein gemachtes Brennholz“. — šeburu von šebēru „zerbrechen“. — Syn. kisittu, q.v. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 69 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 56): ḡiṣ^{ba-áš} KUD = iṣ-šu še-eb-ru, Quelle G rechts: ḡiṣ še-bi-rum, Quelle A rechts: iṣ-šu še-[x - x].

ḡiṣ-kud = kiksi „zerschnittenes, klein gemachtes Brennholz“. — kiksi viell. Spielform von niksu, q.v. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 70 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 56): ḡiṣ^{ku-tu} KUD = ki-ik-su; für die Glossen in den verschiedenen Quellen (ku-uṭ-ṭu, gi-iṣ-ditto, i.e. ku-uṭ-ṭu) siehe LANDSBERGER, *op. cit.* Anm. zur Zeile 70.

ḡiṣ-láḫ = kisittu „zerschnittenes, klein gemachtes Brennholz“. — kisittu von kasāmu „zerschneiden“. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 76 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 57): ḡiṣḡi-iṣ-ditto (i.e. la-aḫ) UD = ki-sit-tum, vorher laḫú, es folgt iṣu šābulu. — Auch ibid. Z. 73: ḡiṣ^{ku-tu} KUD = ki-sit-^rtum^r.

ḡiṣ-laḫ = (iṣu) laḫú „dürres (Brenn)holz“. — laḫú sum. Lw. von laḫ(a) „trocken“. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 75 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 57): ḡiṣ^{la-aḫ} UD = la-ḫu-u.

lutē šarbati „Splitter des šarbatu-Holzes“. — Für ludú, lutú, qutal-Diminutiv, „Scheit, Splitter“ von luttu „abschlagen, spalten“ siehe G. MEIER, AfO XIV 152 Anm. 116; FALKENSTEIN, *ibid.* S. 121; VON SODEN, ZA XLIV 304; vgl. auch W. G. LAMBERT, BWL S. 330. — Für ḡiṣasal (:A.TU.GAB+LIŠ bzw. A.SIG₄.GAB+LIŠ) „Populus euphratica“ siehe Proto-Diri 161 und Diri II 241, vgl. SALONEN, *Möbel* S. 223. — Für lutē šarbati als „Holzsplitter als Brennmaterial“ siehe W. G. KUNSTMANN, LSS N.F. II 66; vgl. vielleicht Anatolian Studies V 98ff. 65, 70, 83 und ibid. VI 163.

ḡiṣ-gibil = makkadu „dürres Holz“. — Lex.: Diri III 5: ḡiṣ-gi-bil = ḡiṣ.GIBÍL = ma-ak-ka-du, es folgen id. = ḡiṣ kabbu, ḡiṣ erru, q.vv.

ḡiṣ-kud = ni^rbu, nib^ru „klein gemachtes Brennholz“. — ni^rbu, nib^ru eigentlich „Spross“. — Lex.: ḫ-h Tf. VI 72 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 57): ḡiṣ^{ku-tu} KUD = ni-^ri-^rbu^r, vorher id. = kiksi und niksu.

ḡiṣ-kud = niksu „zerschnittenes, klein gemachtes Brennholz“. — niksu

von *nakāsu* „schneiden“. — Lex.: H-h Tf. VI 71 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 57): *gišgi-iš*-ditto (i.e.) *ku-tu* KUD = *ni-ik-su*.

giš-gibil = *qilūtu* „Brennholz“. — *qilūtu* von *qalū* „brennen“. — Lex.: H-h Tf. VI 78 (LANDSBERGER, MSL VI S. 57): *gišgi-bi-il* GIBIL = *qi-lu-tum*, Quelle S rechts: [*qi*]-*lu-ú*; es folgen *išu kabbu* und *išu erru* „dürres Holz“.

Reste des abgebrannten Brennholzes sind verkohltes Holz und Aschen (vgl. sub B für Reste der abgebrannten Kohlen: Schlacke).

a. Verkohltes Holz

gumāru „verkohltes Holz“. — VON SODEN, AHW 298^a: „verkohltes Holz“; CAD „G“ 133^a: „ember(?)“. — Wohl entlehnt ins Aram.: *gumrā*, *gumartā* und ins Arab.: *ḡamra*^{un}. — Nur nA: K. F. MÜLLER, *Das ass. Königsritual* Text II Kol. II 8ff.: *šum-ma pi'-it-tu' lu-u gu-ma-ru ištu muḫḫi ka-nu-nu it-tu-qu-ut ir-ra-ba i-mat-taḫ ina muḫḫi ka-nu-ni i-kar-ra-ar* „Wenn glühende Kohlen oder verkohltes Holz vom Heizofen herabfällt, tritt er ein, hebt (es) auf und legt (es) auf den Heizofen“. MÜLLER, *op. cit.* S. 76 bemerkt dazu richtig: „Da der Ofen mit Holz geheizt wird (Vgl. II, 12f.), kann es sich nicht um Holzkohle handeln, die noch nicht angebrannt ist, sondern nur um „ausgeglühtes, verkohltes“ Holz. Diese Deutung wird gestützt durch II, 4.12; III, 39, wo der Stamm *gmr* in der Bedeutung ‚verglühen, herunterbrennen‘ erscheint“. CAD „G“ loc. cit.: „*gumāru*, as well as *pi'ittu*, must refer to a fuel, possibly to different kinds of charcoal“ muss gestrichen werden.

b. Aschen

dè, dè-dal = *dikmēnu*, *dikmennu*, *dihmennu* „Asche“. — Siehe JENSEN, MVAeG XXX, 2 110f.; VON SODEN, AHW 169^a; CAD wird es unter *ṭikmennu* behandeln. — Lex.: Antagal H 28: CT XIX 22a Kol. I 3: *dè* = *dik-me-nu*. — Izi I 176 (ZA VIII 203 Rs. 9): [*dè-dal*]-*a¹* *dal* = *di-ik-me-en-nu*. — Syn.-Liste LTBA II 1 Kol. IV 38f.: *la'-mu*, *di-tal-lum* = *di-ik-me-ni*; Dupl. ibid. 2.104f. hat *di-ik-me-en-nu*. Vgl. auch An IX 12f.: *la'-mu*, *di-di-lu* = *di/ti-ik-me-en-nu*. Siehe ferner MEISSNER, BAW I 71.12f. — Für andere Belege siehe VON SODEN, AHW loc. cit. Beachte nA: KAR 38 Rs. 29.11: Gefäß mit *di-ik-mi-nu*.

dè-dal = *didilu*, *ditallu* „Asche“. — Sum. Lw. im Akk. — VON SODEN, AHW 173^b (siehe auch *ditalliš* „zu Asche“); CAD „D“ 164^b: „ashes“. — Lex.: Antaga IH 29: [*dè-dal*] = *di-ta-al-lum*. — Izi I 177: [*dè-dal*]-*a¹* *dal* = *di-tal-lum*. — Syn.-Liste LTBA II 1 Kol. IV 39: *di-tal-lum* = *di-ik-me-ni*; Dupl. ibid. 2.105. — An IX 13: *di-di-lu* = *di/ti-ik-me-en-nu*. — Für andere nA and nB Belege siehe besonders CAD „D“ loc. cit.

dè-dal = *la'mu* „Asche“. — Lex.: Izi I 174: [*dè-dal*]-*a¹* *dal* = *la'-mu*. — Syn.-Liste LTBA II 1 Kol. IV 38: *la'-mu* = *di-ik-me-ni*; Dupl. ibid. 2.104. —

An IX 12: *la'-mu* = *di/ti-ik-me-en-nu*. — Lit.: Maqlû Tf. I 142 (MEIER S. 12): *la'-mi-ku-nu* (Var.: *la'-me-ku-nu*) *li-bal-li* *utu^ši* „Eure Aschenglut lösche die Sonne“.

dè-dal = *nablu* „Asche“. — Lex.: Izi I 175: [*dè-dal*]-*a¹* *dal* = *nab-lum*.

Für *turubat* 121 „dust (ashes) of the fire“ siehe OPPENHEIM, Or. N. S. XIX (1950) S. 131.

B. HOLZKOHLE

Das in den Küchen- und Heizöfen zu verbrennende Holz musste natürlich am besten trocken sein. Dagegen wurde im Zusammenhang mit Schmelz- und Brennöfen „gesundes“, „grünes“ Holz, *išum warqum* verwendet, das zu Kohlen verbrannt wurde. Sehr beleuchtend in dieser Hinsicht ist der altbabylonische Text BM 26234 (KING, LIH II Nr. 72, vgl. UNGNAD, VAB VI Nr. 52):

(Vs.) ¹*a-na* ²*šú.EN*-[*i-din*]-³*nam* ⁴*qí-bi-ma* ⁵*um-ma* *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ma* ⁶*GIŠ* AB.BA^{H1.A} *a-na* *ši-ki-ir ma-ag-ga-ri* ⁷*a-na* *qá-at* TIBIRA(:URUDU+NANGAR) ⁸*MEŠ* ⁹*i-na* BÀD.TIBIRA^{KI} ¹⁰*ù e-ma* *i-ba-aš-šu-ú* ¹¹*li-mu-ru-ni-ik-kum-ma* ¹²*7200* (:ŠÁR.ŠÁR) ¹³*GIŠ* AB.BA^{H1.A} *ši-hu-tim* ¹⁴*iš-tu* ¹⁵*1/3* SÌLA ¹⁶*1/2* SÌLA *a-di* ¹⁷*1* SÌLA ¹⁸*GIŠ* ¹⁹*iš-tu* ²⁰*2* KÙŠ ²¹*3* KÙŠ *a-di* ²²*4* KUŠ ²³*GÍD.DA* ²⁴*12* *li-ik-ki-su-ni-ik-kum-ma* ²⁵*13* ²⁶*5* ŠU.ŠI TA ²⁷*GIŠ* AB.[BA^{H1.A}] (Rand) *i-na* MÁ.NI.DUB *i-ta-ad-di*-[*x x x*] (Rs.) ²⁸*1i-na* SA.DÚL [24.KAM] ²⁹*2a-na* KÁ.DINGIR.[RA^{KI}] ³⁰*3li-ib-lu-nim* ³¹*4i-na* ³²*GIŠ* AB.BA^{H1.A} ³³*5ša* *i-na-ak-ki-su* ³⁴*6GIŠ* *ša i-na* ³⁵*GIŠ* TIR-ŠU *mi-tu* ³⁶*7la* *i-na-ak-ki-su* ³⁷*8GIŠ* *wa-ar-qá-am-ma* *li-ik-ki-su* ³⁸*9ar-ḫi-iš* ³⁹*GIŠ* AB.BA^{H1.A} *šu-nu-ti* ⁴⁰*10li-ib-lu-nim-ma* ⁴¹*11TIBIRA* ⁴²*MEŠ* *la i-ri-iq-qú*.

¹„Zu Sin-idinnam sprich: also (sagt) Hammurabi: AB.BA-Hölzer zum Kohlen ⁵für die Metallarbeiter in Bad-tibira und da, wo sie sonst sind, soll man für dich auswählen. Dann soll man 7200 hohe AB.BA-Hölzer ¹⁰von 1/3 SÌLA, 1/2 SÌLA bis 1 SÌLA Holz und von 2 Ellen, 3 Ellen bis 4 Ellen Länge für dich schneiden. Je 300 Stück AB.BA-Hölzer soll man dann auf ein Frachtschiff laden (und dann) (Rs) ¹in (24) Partien nach Babylon bringen. Unter den AB.BA-Hölzern, ⁵die man schneiden wird, soll man kein Holz, das in seinem Walde (ab)gestorben ist, schneiden. Nur grünes Holz soll man schneiden. Eilends soll man jene AB.BA-Hölzer¹⁰ bringen, dass die Metallarbeiter nicht mit leeren Händen dasitzen“.

Hier handelt es sich also um AB.BA = *kušabku*-Holz für das *šikir maggari* der *gurgurru*-Metallarbeiter. Die Deutung des Textes hängt natürlich davon ab, wie man *šikir maggari* versteht. CAD „G“ 137^b s.v. *gurgurru* („craftsman working in wood and metal“) lässt es unübersetzt: „let them select *kušabku*-trees for you to (make) *šikir maggari* for the g.-workers in Bad-Tibira or wherever they live“ (VON SODEN, AHW 299^a weist s.v. *gurgurru* „Kupferschmied“ auf *qurqurru* hin).

Diese Frage hat zuletzt J. ARO, Or.N.S. XXXII (1963) S. 401 behandelt. Er liest *ana šikir maqqarī* und übersetzt die Stelle: „k.-Hölzer zu Griffen der

m.-Werkzeuge für den Gebrauch der Metallarbeiter in Bad-tibira und wo immer sie sind, mögen sie für dich ausfindig machen". Dazu bemerkt er: „Hier scheint der Name des Werkzeuges die Holzart näher zu bestimmen und auch *ina Bād-tibira* usw. das Wort *gurgurri* (vgl. die Übersetzung in CAD G 137b gegen UGNAD VAB VI; es scheint natürlich, dass die Metallarbeiter eben in der „Metallarbeiterstadt" wohnen)".

Die Auffassung von ARO ist natürlich sehr verlockend, da wir gut das Wort *šikru*, in el-A auch in der Form *šakru*, in der Bedeutung „Handgriff" kennen, z.B. *šišgām-giri* = *šikru ša patri* „Handgriff des Messers/Dolches" (A-A VIII.1 92, danach H-h Tf. VII B Kol. VI 291f. zu ergänzen), *šišgām-giritur* = *šikru ša ušulti* „Handgriff eines kleinen Messers" (H-h Tf. VII B Kol. VI 294; KAR 375 Kol. III 39ff.), *šišgām-giri-gal* = *šikru ša namšari* „Handgriff eines Schwertes" (H-h Tf. VII B Kol. VI 293), *šišgām-giri-šu-i* = *šikru ša naglabi* „Handgriff eines Rasiermessers" (ibid. Z. 295), *šišgām-giri-ad-kid* = *šikru ša mašlāti* „Handgriff des Messers des Rohrarbeiters" (ibid. Z. 296) und *šišgām-giri-da-tur* ohne akkadische Entsprechung (ibid. Z. 297); vgl. dazu noch die el-A-Stellen Nr. 22 Kol. I 33; Kol. II 16 und Kol. III 8, wo KIN//šakar/-šu = „sein (i.e. des *patru*-Messers/Dolches) Handgriff". — Aus diesen Belegen ersieht man, dass *šikru* vom „Handgriff" des Messers/Dolches/Schwertes usw. verwendet wird. Sollte es in unserer Stelle „Handgriff" bedeuten, dann muss *maqgaru* (wovon *maqgarī* Pl. Gen.) ein Werkzeug zum Schneiden o.ä. bedeuten (etwa von *naqāru*). Wozu aber brauchen die Metallarbeiter solche Werkzeuge, dazu noch so viele (7200!!) und mit so langen Handgriffen? Höchstens könnte man an Instrumente zum Abschälen von Bäumen denken. Das ist aber keinesfalls eine Arbeit der *gurgurru*-Metallarbeiter, die Metalle mit *Kohlenfeuer* schmelzen!

Da nun diese *kušabku*-Hölzer 1/3 šILA, 1/2 šILA bis 1 šILA stark (hier šILA, sonst 0,842 l, zum Messen der Stärke, Querschnitt des Baumes, wohl sich auf dem Mund eines Standardgefäßes beziehend) und 2 KÚŠ, 3 KÚŠ bis 4 KÚŠ, d.h. 99 cm, 148,5 cm bis 198 cm lang, dazu noch in keinem Fall dürr („in seinem Walde gestorben"), sondern unbedingt „grün, frisch" (*išum warqum*) sein sollen, vermute ich in *šikir maggari* das „Kohlen des Holzes im Kohlenmeiler". CAD „I/J" s.v. *išu* S. 217^a übersetzt die *išum warqum*-Stelle wie folgt: „among the *kušabku*-trees that they are going to cut, they must not cut trees that have died in the forest, they must cut only green trees (for the cabinet maker)".

Es ist nun eine bekannte Tatsache, dass gerade bei Schmelzarbeit, also bei der Arbeit der *gurgurru*-Metallarbeiter, wo man hohe Temperaturen in dem Schmelzofen erzeugen muss, gewöhnliches Holz nicht verwendet werden kann. Man muss Kohlen verwenden. Kohlen können nicht aus morschem, faulen Holz (*išum ša ina kištišu mītu*) gefertigt werden, dazu braucht man festes, „klingen-

des" Holz; darum wird in unserem Text ausdrücklich betont, dass das Holz „grün", d.h. „gesund, frisch" sein muss. Solches Holz wird in dem Kohlenmeiler zu Kohlen verbrannt, wobei natürlich die Säfte verschwinden. Diese Kohlen, die auflodernd brennen und wenig Asche geben, können zwischen die Metallstücke gelegt werden, gewöhnliches Holz dagegen nicht. Die Längen der zu kohlendenden Hölzer entsprechen natürlich den Abmessungen der verschiedenen Schmelzöfen, vgl. meine Studie, *Die Öfen der alten Mesopotamier* unter „Schmelzöfen."

In unserem Text wird das Holz, das zu Kohlen verbrannt wird, als *giš AB.BA* bezeichnet. Nach H-AR-ra = *hubullu* Tf. III 154 (LANDSBERGER, MSL V S. 105) ist *giš a-ab-ba* = *ku-ša-ab-ku*, es folgt Z. 155: *giš ditto* (i.e. a-ab-ba) -*me-luḥ-ḥa* = ditto (i.e. *kušabku*) *me-luḥ-ḥe-e* „meluḥḥäer *kušabku*". — Für die Verwendung des *kušabku*-Holzes auch zur Herstellung von Stühlen siehe SALONEN, *Möbel* S. 213f., wo auch ein Beleg für die Verwendung des *kušabku meluḥḥē* für Stühle.

LIMET, *Le travail du métal*, S. 116 bemerkt richtig: „Dans ces sortes de fourneaux (er meint *udun* und *gir*, wovon die akk. Lww. *utūnu* und *kīru* als Bezeichnungen von Schmelzöfen, siehe meine Untersuchung *Die Öfen der alten Mesopotamier*), il était nécessaire de brûler du charbon de bois qui désoxyde le cuivre et entretient une chaleur suffisamment élevée. Les Accadiens appelaient ce combustible *pēntu*, dont nous ignorons l'équivalent sumérien, car NE.KÚ, mot pour lequel THOMPSON avait proposé ce sens (siehe dazu genauer LIMET S. 138-140), doit être interprété autrement. Le charbon de bois est du carbone presque pur, produit par la combustion de bois durs et feuillus qui faisaient défaut en Mésopotamie du sud. Dans les textes technologiques assyriens auxquels il a déjà été fait allusion, on précise que le bois allumé sous le fourneau est du *šarbatu*; malheureusement, nous ignorons quel arbre est désigné par ce nom (sorbier? murier?) (vgl. aber oben s.v. *lutē šarbatī*); il est possible de penser aussi à un bois résineux".

AN.DUB, DUB.DIR, KI.NE, U₃.TU.BA = *pēndu*, *pēntu*, ass. *pe'tu*, *pe'ettu*, *pettu* „Holzkohle". — Frühere Literatur: LANDSBERGER, OLz XVII (1914) 263: *pēndu* = *pēntu* „glühende Kohle"; WEIDNER, AfO VII 274 Anm. 8: „glühende Kohle"; VON SODEN, ZA XLIII (1936) 260 und Anm. 3: „Kohle" (ungefähres Synonym *tumru*); EBELING, Or.N.S. XVII (1948) 145: *pe'tu* „Holzkohle", ibid. XIX (1950): *pi'tu* „Kohle"; OPPENHEIM, Or.N.S. XVII 58: *pit(t)u* „oven", ibid. XIX 130: *pittu* „ember, ashes" from *pādu* „to bank, cover (a fire)": *pittum* > **pīd-tum* „banked fire, glowing ashes"; K. F. MÜLLER, *Das ass. Königsritual* S. 62 und 76: *pi'ittu* „Glut" für *pēntu* = hebr. *peḥām*¹⁾.

¹⁾ Eine Weiterbildung von *pēndu*, *pēntu* ist *pēndū* „Narbe" (Syn. *umšatu*), siehe LANDSBERGER, OLz XVII (1914) 263 (vgl. *NA₁ pēndū*); HOLMA, Or. N. S. XIV 252 Anm. 5: zu *pḥm*, also „carbunculus"; WEIDNER, AfO VII 274: „rotes Geschwür" = *umšatu sandu*; F. R. KRAUS, AfO Beiheft III S. 29.

auf S. 179 neben dem auch von GORDON (S. 268 Nr. 1061) schon aufgeführten Verbum *mgn* mit zwei Belegen verzeichnet, deren einen GORDON noch als Verbalform zitierte (bei ihm Nr. 51 I 22). Beide halten das Verbum offenbar für semitisch, weil es sich auch im Hebräischen findet und eine scheinbare Ableitung davon, aramäisch *maggān* und arabisch *mağğānan* „gratis, umsonst“, den Eindruck erwecken könnte, als sei eine Wurzel *mgn* „schenken“ gemeinsemitisch. Dieser Eindruck täuscht aber.

Das ugaritische Substantiv *mgn* kann wegen der völligen Bedeutungsähnlichkeit mit *magannu*, das, wie wir sahen, auch in den akkadischen Texten von Ugarit vorkommt, nur aus diesem entlehnt sein und dürfte dann ebenfalls *magannu* zu lesen sein. *magannu* lebt aber ausserdem in aram. *maggān* und arab. *mağğānan* weiter; wir wissen nicht, ob das Wort über das Ugaritische ins Aramäische übernommen wurde oder auf einen anderen Wege. Wichtig ist, dass *maggān* nicht nur für das Palmyrenische (C. F. JEAN-J. HOFTIJZER, *Dict. des inscr. sémit. de l'ouest*, S. 142), das Syrische und das Jüdisch-Aramäische bezeugt ist, sondern auch für das Reichsaramäische; denn es wurde aus ihm in der Form *ana ma-ga-nu* „gratis“ ins Spätbabylonische entlehnt (vgl. in Briefen UET 4,192,15.22 und BIN 1,53,30). Wenn in den jüngeren Formen anders als im Mitanniwort das *g* gelangt ('verdoppelt') gesprochen wurde, so war das vermutlich die Folge der häufigen Verwendung von *maggān* in dringenden Bitten um geschenkweise Überlassung von Speisen usw. Ohne die Konsonantenlänge wäre das Wort zu einem einsilbigen **mḡān* verkürzt worden und hätte dann im Satz kein grosses Gewicht. Die Beschränkung des alten Substantivs auf den adverbialen Gebrauch hatte offenbar seine Ursache darin, das man für den Begriff Geschenk ein Wort fremder Herkunft nicht brauchte. Im adverbialen Gebrauch hat aber auch im Deutschen das lateinische gratis das Wort 'umsonst' aus der Alltagssprache weithin verdrängt. Die Meinung, dass ein Fremdwort feiner klingt als ein vielleicht etwas abgebrachtes eigenes Wort, mag bei uns wie bei den älteren Aramäern eine Rolle gespielt haben.

Da also das ugaritische *mgn(magannu)* ein akkadisch-churritisch-arisches Lehnwort ist, kann es von dem Verbum *mgn* "schenken" nicht abgeleitet sein, sondern dieses muss von *magannu* denominiert sein. Die Masoreten folgten sicher einer guten Tradition, als sie das im AT dreimal bezeugte Verbum überall als Pi'el vokalisieren; denominierte Verben werden in den semitischen Sprachen ja sehr oft im D-Stamm gebraucht (vgl. z.B. G. BERGSTRÄSSER, *Hebr. Gramm.* II § 17c; GAG § 88g). Anders als GORDON und AISTLEITNER möchte ich nun auch im Ugaritischen durchweg den D-Stamm und nicht den G-Stamm ansetzen. Die bisher belegten Formen lassen sich als D und G vokalisieren; Formen wie das Partizip, bei denen auch das Konsonantengerüst in den beiden Stämmen verschieden ist, sind bisher nicht bekannt geworden.

Die Vokalisierung der Masoreten auf der einen Seite und die nach dem bisher Gesagten wohl nicht mehr zu bestreitende Tatsache der Denominierung auf der anderen Seite zwingen nach meiner Auffassung dazu, in den bezeugten ugaritischen Formen solche des D-Stammes zu sehen. Übrigens entfällt danach auch die an sich schon höchst unwahrscheinliche etymologische Verknüpfung von *mgn* mit akkad. *magāru* „einwilligen, zustimmen“, die das Wörterbuch von GESENIUS-BUHL (17. Aufl. S. 397a) als möglich und L. KÖHLER in seinem Lexicon (S. 493b) als sicher hinstellt. Die Bedeutungen beider Verben sind doch grundverschieden.

War also bisher eine Linie erkannt worden, die von vedisch *magham* zu churritisch und akkadisch *mag/kannu* führte, und eine andere, die ugaritisch *mgn* mit arab. *mağğānan* verknüpfte, so eröffnet die nun gelungene Verbindung beider Linien zu einer einzigen Perspektiven, die in der Wortgeschichte nicht ganz gewöhnlich sind. Es lohnt daher, noch etwas dabei zu verweilen. Wir können nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, dass das denominierte Verbum *miggēn* gerade aus dem Ugaritischen in das Biblisch-Hebräische entlehnt wurde. Die Möglichkeit, dass ein frühkanaanäischer Dialekt im churritisch überlagerten Gebiet von Syrien-Palästina das Wort *magannu* gleichfalls übernahm und das Verbum *mgn* denominierte und dass Israel das Wort dort kennen lernte, lässt sich nicht ausschliessen. Wir wissen über die frühen kanaanäischen Dialekte viel zu wenig. Ebenso können wir nicht behaupten, dass *ma(g)gān* „gratis“ dem Bibelhebräischen ganz unbekannt war; es kommt nur im AT nicht vor. Nachdem man oft verzweifelt nach indogermanischen Wörtern im AT Ausschau gehalten hatte und dabei die unmöglichsten Verknüpfungen konstatieren wollte (z.B. I. SCHEFFLOWITZ, *Arisches im AT*, 1901), hat sich nun ganz ungesucht (bei der Arbeit an meinem AHw.) ein solches Wort ergeben, das nicht einmal zu den sogenannten Wanderwörtern (Bezeichnungen von Rohstoffen und Gegenständen, die mit diesen zusammen wandern) gehört. Es konnte als solches gar nicht erkannt werden, solange die Zwischenglieder nicht bekannt waren. Auch ist die Denominierung von Verben aus Wörtern fremder Herkunft im älteren Semitischen höchst selten, und wir tun auch in Zukunft gut, damit nicht vorschnell zu rechnen.

Bemerkenswert ist noch, wie bei diesem Wort auf eine Erweiterung der Wortsippe in Ugarit die Verengung auf ein einziges Adverbium und später wieder eine neue Erweiterung folgte. Denn das denominierte Verbum *miggēn* ist im Hebräischen anscheinend ziemlich früh ungebräuchlich geworden; es wurde jedenfalls ins Mittelhebräische der Mischna offenbar nicht mehr übernommen. Ein Beleg, der verbal und nominal gedeutet werden kann, findet sich in einer phönizischen Inschrift aus Ur aus dem 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (vgl. H. DONNER-W. RÖLLIG, *Kan. u. Aram. Inschr.* Nr. 29,1 und die Bemerkung dazu auf S. 47). Das Syrische leitet aber spätestens zur Zeit des Bar Hebräus

aus *maggān* ein neues Adjektiv *maggānājā* „gratis gegeben“ ab (C. BROCKELMANN, *Lex. Syr.*², 374a). Das Aramäische des Talmud verwendet *l'maggānā* „umsonst“ auch im Sinn von hebr. *laš-šau* „umsonst, leichtfertig“ (zu Ex. 20,7). Im Arabischen blieb das aus dem Aramäischen entlehnte *mağğānan* „gratis, umsonst“ lange unproduktiv. In neuerer Zeit wurde daraus aber die Nisbe *mağğānī* „unentgeltlich“ abgeleitet und daraus wieder das Abstraktum *mağğānīja* „Gebührenfreiheit“ (s. H. WEHR, *Dict. of Modern Written Arabic* 894a); statt *mağğānan* sagt man auch *bil-mağğān*. Ein denominiertes Verbum wurde, soweit mir bekannt ist, noch nicht gebildet.

Das Neuhebräische des heutigen Israel übernahm aus dem Aramäischen zunächst *maggān* „gratis, umsonst“. Aus dem AT wurde aber auch das Verbum *maggēn* übernommen, und zwar im Anschluss an die traditionelle Deutung von Gen. 14,20 im Sinn von „ausliefern“ (vgl. M. D. GROSS, *Neues Hebr.-Dt. Wb.*, Tell Aviv 1949, S. 232a). An sich ist dort nur gesagt „Gepriesen sei der Höchste (’ēl ’eljon), der deine Feinde in deine Hand übergab (*miggēn*; LXX παράδωκεν)“. Wie an den anderen Stellen (Hos. 11,8 und Prov. 4,9) ist auch hier „schenken, hingeben“ gemeint, nicht der Akt einer Auslieferung als solcher. Bei einer künstlich wieder ins Leben gerufenen Sprache wie dem Neuhebräischen können aber bestimmte Ausdeutungen einer Textstelle von nun an den Sprachgebrauch bestimmen, und der Sprachgebrauch folgt dann seinen eigenen Gesetzen ganz unabhängig von der Textdeutung, aus der heraus er einst entstanden ist.

Das Neuhebr. gebraucht *maggēn* aber auch im Sinne von „beschützen“. Dieses Wort ist von *māgēn* „Schild“ abgeleitet (jüd.-aram. *mēginnā*, arab. *miğann*), einem im AT häufigen Wort. Dieses denominierte Verbum verzeichnen die mir bekannten Wörterbücher für die Sprache von Mischna und Talmud nicht, es muss aber zur Zeit der Übersetzung des AT ins Griechische gebräuchlich gewesen sein. Denn die LXX übersetzt in Hos. 11,8 und Prov. 4,9 die dort stehenden Formen von *mgn* durch *ὑπερασπίζω* bzw. *ὑπερασπίσῃ*, setzt somit das Verbum *ὑπερασπίζειν* „(mit einem Schild) beschützen“ ein und muss das hebr. Verbum dort daher als von *māgēn* denominiert angesehen haben. Unsere Lexica und die neuere Exegese übernehmen die Deutung der LXX nicht — für Hos. 11,8 hatte Martin Luther sie übernommen und „schützen“ übersetzt —, sie muss aber nach dem Sprachgebrauch der alten Übersetzer wenigstens möglich gewesen sein. Durch *ὑπερασπισμὸν καρδίας* gibt die LXX übrigens auch *mgnt lb* Thr. 3,65 wieder, denkt also auch da an eine Ableitung von *māgēn* „Schild“, während die Masoreten mit ihrer Vokalisation von *mgnt* als *mēginnat* dort offenbar eine Ableitung von *gnn* „schützen“ angenommen haben (wie *mēgillā* „Rolle“ von *gll*). Hier wird aber L. KÖHLER in seinem *Lex.* S. 494a mindestens grundsätzlich recht haben, wenn er, freilich ohne Änderung der Vokalisation, „Unverschämtheit“ übersetzt

und an die echt semitische Wurzel *mgn* denkt, die im Arabischen „hart, verhärtet, grob, unverschämt sein“ bedeutet. Er leitet von ihr auch ein *māgēn* II „unverschämt“ ab, das er an einigen Stellen einsetzt, für die andere (z.B. neuestens M. J. DAHOOD in seinem Besprechungsartikel zu AISTLEITNERS Ugarit. Wb. in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* I/1964, S. 94) ein *māgēn* „König“ ansetzen, auch hier wieder teilweise in Übereinstimmung mit den alten Übersetzungen. Ich kann vorläufig keinen zwingenden Anlass sehen, die im Bereich von *mgn* ohnehin reichlich komplizierten Verhältnisse durch die Annahme eines Wortes *māgēn* „König“ noch unübersichtlicher zu machen, möchte aber die teilweise schwierigen exegetischen Fragen, um die es hier geht, den Berufenen überlassen.

Wichtig erscheint mir in diesem Zusammenhang aber, noch einmal darauf hinzuweisen, wie verwirrend es ist, wenn auch die wissenschaftlichen Wörterbücher des Arabischen weiterhin dem alten Brauch folgen und alle Wörter, die durch dieselben Wurzelkonsonanten verbunden sind, unter eine einzige Wurzel subsumieren (vgl. z.B. den Artikel *klm* im *Wb. d. Klass. Arab. Spr.* S. 327ff.). Nur wenn wir uns darum bemühen, die Wörter ganz verschiedener Herkunft voneinander zu trennen, können wir hoffen, dass auch der so besonders reiche Wortschatz des Arabischen für uns einmal überschaubar wird. Vor unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten werden wir bei diesem Bemühen nicht sehr oft stehen; man kann in solchen Fällen ja darauf hinweisen, dass sich bestimmte (wirkliche oder vermeintliche) Gebrauchsweisen der Wörter aus den Grundbedeutungen der Wurzeln noch nicht sicher herleiten lassen.

Die echt semitische Wurzel *mgn*, die zu den zustandsbeschreibenden gehört, ist bisher also eindeutig nur durch arab. *mağuna* „hart sein“ vertreten; sehr wahrscheinlich gab es sie aber auch im Hebräischen (vgl. L. KÖHLER, *Lex.* 494a). Daneben gab es und gibt es heute wieder im Hebräischen zwei im Pi’el denominierte Verben *miggēn* (Inf. *maggēn*), von denen eines im Ugaritischen und vielleicht auch einigen altkanaanäischen Dialekten von *magann(u)* „Geschenk“ abgeleitet wurde, einem letztlich auf vedisch *magham* „Geschenk“ zurückgehenden Wort. Das andere, für die ältere Zeit aus der LXX zu erschliessende Verbum *miggēn* ist aus *māgēn* „Schild“ denominiert, das seinerseits wohl mit Recht von *gnn* „schützen“ abgeleitet wird. Für arab. *mağana* „unüberlegt reden und handeln“ wird man eine eigene Wurzel kaum ansetzen müssen; diese Verwendung des Verbums könnte aus *mağāna* „Härte, Rücksichtslosigkeit“ denominiert sein. Für eine vielleicht aus dem Kuschitischen entlehnte Wurzel *mgn* in den südabessinischen Sprachen vgl. W. LESLAU, *Univ. of California Publ.* 20/1958, 29f. Das aus *magannu* unmittelbar entstandene Adverbium aram. *maggān*, arab. *mağğānan* „gratis“ hat sich, wie wir sahen, gerade in den Sprachen eingebürgert, die die denominierte Verbalwurzel *mgn* nicht übernommen haben.

Ich muss es den Indogermanisten überlassen, den Weg von vedisch *magham* durch die indogermanischen Sprachen zu verfolgen; die Ableitung sanskrit *maghavan* (dazu avestisch *magavan*?) „freigebig“ ist bekannt. Hier ging es darum, den etwas ungewöhnlichen Weg des der arischen Sprachgruppe gemeinsamen Wortes durch die semitischen Sprachen aufzuzeigen. Es ist nicht zu erwarten, dass sich viele Wörter finden werden, deren Schicksal ähnlich war.

Münster

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EXPLORATIONS AND EXCAVATIONS IN TURKEY, 1963*)

1. *Prehistorical Research in Southeastern Anatolia* (Urfa, Diyarbakır, Siirt)

A long-range expedition was organized jointly by the Universities of Chicago and İstanbul, under the direction of Dr. R. J. BRAIDWOOD and Dr. H. ÇAMBEL in South-Eastern Anatolia (Urfa, Diyarbakır, and Siirt regions) with the aim of studying the transition from non-productive to productive economy. The transition from the food-collecting to the food-productive stage of man is based on the domestication of animals and the cultivation of edible plants.

The expedition collected surface-finds primarily from the earliest Prehistoric periods but also from later ages, in view of the fact that very little is known as yet of this region. A number of sites were chosen as objects for future excavation. The expedition planned to start sub-surface work in the spring of 1964, with a team of scholars from the natural sciences to join the group for the purpose of carrying out the necessary complementary work in this field ¹⁾.

2. *The Region of Beyşehir-Suğla lakes district* (Konya)

An expedition from Columbia University under the direction of Dr. R. S. SOLECKI undertook reconnaissance in the regions of Beyşehir and Suğla Lakes, its objective being to find prehistoric remains. Thirty *höyük*s and ten rock-shelters were located. It was hoped to find sites older than Çatal Hüyük, but neither Mesolithic nor Palaeolithic cultures could be found. However a mound containing a rich sequence of levels of Aceramic Neolithic was found at Suberde (recently renamed Gölyüzü), a place 10 km. southeast from Seydişehir, where a sounding for the next year was planned ²⁾.

*) For the writer's report on archaeological activity in Turkey in 1962, see *Archäologischer Bericht aus der Türkei, 1962* in JEOL 16 (1959-1963) [1964], 88-102.

The writer wishes to thank Mrs. SELIME HEBEL and Mr. DAVID GARWOOD for their help in preparing the English text of this article, and especially wishes to express her gratitude to Dr. EDMUND I. GORDON for his correction of the manuscript, both in regard to the proper translations of technical terms and control of the subject matter. Cf. for other summaries of archaeological activity in Turkey for the years 1962 and/or 1963 M. J. MELLINK, *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, AJA 67 [1963] 173-190 and AJA 68 [1964] 149-166; U. BAHADIR ALKIM, *Archaeological activities in Turkey 1962*, OrNS 33 [1964] 500-512; and *Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey*, AnSt 14 [1964] 21-37.

Abbreviations used are: E.M.U.M.=Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürlüğü (Turkish Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums); MELLINK=M. J. MELLINK, *Archaeology in Asia Minor*, AJA 68 [1964] 149-166; AnSt=Anatolian Studies; Belleten 111=Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten, vol. XXVIII no. 111; ILN=Illustrated London News; TAD=Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi; İAMY=İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı (Annual of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul).

¹⁾ From information generously provided by the E.M.U.M., as well as from oral information kindly given by Dr. H. ÇAMBEL. ²⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 154.

3. *The Cave of Karain* (Antalya)

Under the direction of Dr. KILIÇ KÖKTEN and under the auspices of the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums and the University of Ankara, the Karain Excavations, which began in 1946, in order to establish the palaeolithic chronology, were continued ¹⁾.

This year, work was carried out in front of the cave. A comparison was made between the industry of the inner remains and the findings of the front terrace. Thus Levels VIII-IV are Lower Palaeolithic, Level III is Middle Palaeolithic, Level II (which is divided into four sublevels) is Upper Palaeolithic, and Level I is a mixed level containing Mesolithic and Neolithic remains. According to Dr. KÖKTEN the Neolithic pottery of Karain has relations with the Cilician Neolithic ²⁾.

4. *Çatal Hüyük* (Konya)

The Excavations at Çatal Hüyük begun in 1961 by an expedition directed by Mr. J. MELLAART, under the auspices of learned institutions of England, America and Australia, were continued in 1963. With the results obtained in the years 1961 and 1962 a completely new point-of-view in Anatolian and Near Eastern archaeology, especially with reference to the Neolithic period, has had to be considered.

Thanks to the work done at Çatal Hüyük in the year 1962, the Late Neolithic (VI-IX) levels were excavated and the transition from the non-pottery using culture to the full ceramic Neolithic one was fixed, and several houses and shrines were brought to light ³⁾.

With the investigations of 1963, ten successive building levels were established. From the top downwards, Levels O to V succeed one another after slight fire destructions; between Levels V and VI A, there are signs of a complete violent destruction by fire. Below Level VI A, Levels VI B through X have been dug in 1963. In the levels excavated were found many *buildings* and *shrines*, the latter indicating the cult of the Mother-goddess.

On the walls of the shrines were depicted representations of Mother-goddess, bull's heads and leopards in high-relief or sculpture in the round. The walls bear fine examples of frescoes.

The dead were *buried* within the walls and under the platforms which are used as sitting places. There is no definite orientation, but the feet are turned towards the wall and the heads towards the centre of the building. Men are

¹⁾ Cf. U. ESIN and P. BENEDICT, *Recent Developments in the Prehistory of Anatolia*, Current Anthropology 4 [1963], 339-346; K. KÖKTEN, *Anatolia* 7 (1963) [1964], 59-86.

²⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; also MELLINK, 151.

³⁾ Cf., for the years 1961 and 1962, J. MELLAART, *Excavations at Çatal Hüyük*, 1962, AnSt 13 [1963] 43-103.

buried under the platforms which have panelled walls above them, but women and children are buried under the big central platforms above which the walls are decorated.

Through the levels I to X there is no change in burial customs. Some of the skeletons were painted with ochre, cinnabar, malachite or bright blue azurite.

As for the *pottery*, the most important result of the season 1963 is the investigation of the transition from the aceramic to the ceramic Neolithic. In the Near East, Jarmo, Ras Shamra, Argisa, Sesklo and Hacilar are the centres that have shown us the existence of an aceramic Neolithicum. The transition from aceramic to ceramic does not correspond to the same period everywhere. During the aceramic period stone vessels, baskets, skins and bone plates are used. In Çatal Hüyük, from Levels O to V ceramics are in common use. These are thin, hard-fired, made by hand from local clay containing small grits, dark-coloured and highly burnished. The shapes are few and simple. The bases are flat, the orifices are square, oval and rectangular. Handles are in use. One can distinguish cooking pots, storage-jars, bowls, cups and boxes. These forms show an advanced stage in pottery-making.

In Level VI A the pottery becomes scarce and in Level VI B a complete absence of ceramics is to be met with. In Levels VII and VIII, there were found only a few intrusive pieces. Levels IX and X produced wares of a very primitive type, clearly ancestral to the wares of Level VI A, but at the same time showing great resemblance to the primitive ceramic of a contemporary site at Beldibi. According to the excavator, the deposits in a deep sounding made below Level X seem to be aceramic.

Among the *other objects* the following are especially worth mentioning: stone statuettes, stamp seals, bone implements, flint implements, a fine obsidian dagger with bone handle, obsidian tools etc.

Beads and pendants of lead and copper were found in the levels I-IX. *The use of metal* during this period is an unusual case and requires further study.

As for the *dating* of this site, according to the relative chronology of Mr. MELLAART and the radio-carbon dating of the University Museum of Pennsylvania, Levels X-O of Çatal Hüyük cover the VIIth and VIth millennia B.C. ¹⁾.

¹⁾ J. MELLAART, *Earliest of Neolithic Cities: The Third Season of Excavations at Anatolian Çatal Hüyük*. Pt. I. *Shrines and Images of 9000 years ago*; Pt. II. *Shrines of the Vultures and the Veiled Goddess*; Pt. III. *Wooden Vessels in many Shapes*; Pt. IV. *Burial Customs and Grave Goods*. ILN Vol. 244 no. 6496-6499 (1, 8, 15 and 22 Febr. 1964), pp. 158-160, 194-197, 232-235, 272-275; *id.* *A Neolithic City in Turkey*, Scientific American [April 1964], 94-104; *id.* *Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, 1963. Third Preliminary Report*, AnSt 14 [1964] 39-119; H. HELBAEK, *First Impression of the Çatal Hüyük Plant Husbandry*, AnSt. 14 [1964], 121 ff.; J. MELLAART, TAD XII, 2 (1963) [1965], 43-49.

5. *Can Hasan* (Konya)

The expedition to Can Hasan, located 13 km. northeast of Karaman, has achieved its third season's work under the direction of Dr. D. H. FRENCH on behalf of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. During the past two campaigns' work, two layers were defined ¹⁾.

Level 1, essentially Late Chalcolithic (with later intrusions consisting of Iron Age and Roman material), features a coarse, simple, red and black burnished ware which is rarely painted in white.

Level 2 A is Middle Chalcolithic and contains painted ware. These are black on cream or buff, but the paint varies between red and black. The incised and burnished ware is very rare and found in the rather low parts of this layer.

Level 2 B is a transition period from Early Chalcolithic to Middle Chalcolithic and contains import wares from Cilicia comparable to Mersin Levels XXIII-XX. These pieces help to establish the chronology of Can Hasan.

The third season's work was especially concentrated on the Late Chalcolithic period ²⁾.

6. *Information about prehistoric pottery at Tuzla* (Istanbul)

The regions of Thrace and of the Sea of Marmara have since 1959 been investigated by Dr. Ş. A. KANSU, President of the Turkish Historical Society ³⁾. In his report Dr. KANSU suggests making soundings at Tuzla, as he was orally informed by the Director of Topkapı Museum that, during the excavation of the foundations of the school at Tuzla, pieces of ceramic similar to those of Pendik and Fikirtepe had been found. ⁴⁾

7. *The Hüyük between the Thermal Springs and the Cement Factories at Tuzla* (Istanbul)

During his investigations in the Marmara Region Dr. KANSU made a test-trench in a hüyük-appearing mound between the Tuzla Thermal Springs and the Kurt Cement Factories, near the sea-side. The mound was 20 m. in diameter, and on the slope towards the sea there were found ash and charcoal

¹⁾ Cf., for the year 1962, D. H. FRENCH, *Excavations at Can Hasan, Second Preliminary Report, 1962*, AnSt. 13 [1963] 29-42; also MELLINK, 154.

²⁾ Cf., for the year 1963, D. H. FRENCH, *Excavations at Can Hasan, Third Preliminary Report, 1963*, AnSt. 14 [1964], 125-137; E.M.U.M.'s information.

³⁾ Ş. A. KANSU, *Marmara bölgesi ve Trakya'da prehistorik iskân tarihi bakımından araştırmalar (1959-1962)*; *Recherches sur le peuplement préhistorique dans la région de Marmara et en Thrace Turquie (1959-1962)*, Belleten XXVII, no. 108 [1963], 657-705; *id.*, *Edirne'nin tarihöncesine ait araştırmalar*, Edirne Armağan Kitabı [Ankara 1964], 13-19 and pl. 10; *id.*, *Kanallı Köprü (Silivri) kalkolitikine ait yeni keramik belgeler ve (Heraeum?) un yeri*, Belleten XXVII, no. 106 [1963], 289-296.

⁴⁾ *Id.*, *Türk Tarih Kurumu'nun 1964 yılı genel kurul toplantısı*, Belleten, III, 560.

remains, but no sign of ceramics were discovered. Dr. KANSU suggests undertaking serious research work at this point ¹⁾.

8. *The Tumuli (or Hüyük?) in the neighbourhood of Malkara and Keşan* (Tekirdağ-Edirne)

In the regions of Thrace and the Sea of Marmara, tumuli (hüyük?) were found by Dr. KANSU during his investigations in this area. ²⁾.

9. *The Dolmens of Lalapaşa-Büyünlü* (Edirne)

Dr. KANSU has found at last the opportunity of visiting the dolmens the existence of which he had been informed in 1960.

300 m. north of the village of Büyünlü in the district of Lalapaşa, at the points named Kapaklı-kaya (=Covered Rock) and Perikızı Evi (=Fairly's daughter's house) four dolmens were located.

To the east of this group stands another dolmen, on which a guard-hut has been built for the surrounding vineyards; still another is located 300 metres west of Dikilitaş on the road to Lalapaşa and is situated in the middle of a field. Thus, thanks to Dr. KANSU's exploration six dolmens were discovered in this region.

Besides, he was informed that between Hanlıyenice and Dönköy, Tatarlar and Süleyman Danişment, in the pastures of Hacı-Danişment and between Süleyman Danişment and Çeşmeköy, several dolmens were located one after another.

Between Tatarlar and Keremedlenler remains of this sort are to be found also. Dr. KANSU suggests that these dolmens are earlier than the Tumuli of Thrace and has recommended that they be excavated ³⁾.

10. *Kültepe* (Kayseri)

The Excavations of Kültepe, one of the most important centres of Anatolia, have been under way since the year 1948 under the direction of Dr. T. ÖZGÜÇ and under the auspices of the Turkish Historical Society and the Directorate-General of Antiquities. The 1963 excavations, both on the Hüyük and in the Kârum Kaneş, brought forth new documentation philological as well as archaeological.

Excavations on the Hüyük: Huge buildings were excavated, and those of the Anitta-period (circa XVIIIth century B.C.) were especially studied. From the architectural point-of-view it is clear that they must have formed part of

¹⁾ *Id.*, *ibid.*

²⁾ *Id.*, *ibid.*

³⁾ *Id.*, *Edirnenin Lalapaşa-Büyünlü dolmenleri hakkında ilk not; Note préliminaire sur les dolmen de Lalapaşa-Büyünlü à Edirne*, Belleten XXVII, no. 107 [1963], 491-497; *Id.*, Belleten III, 560.

the official areas, that is, reception-rooms and storage-rooms of the palace. Some private houses belonging to this period were also excavated. Among the findings are ceramics of the type of Kârum II period and tablets. As no other similar remains belonging to the same period have yet been found elsewhere in Anatolia, the importance of these buildings is very great.

Kârum Kaneš: The work in the Kârum Kaneš area in Levels I b and II was extended and four new archives, consisting of 214 tablets, many unopened envelopes and pieces of broken envelopes were uncovered. The names of the owners of these four archives have not previously been known in Kültepe's records and are those of additional new traders from Aššur.

According to Dr. T. ÖZGÜÇ, the burnished and polychrome painted ceramics found with the tablets are unique for this period in Anatolia. The varied assortment of metal objects, rhytons, figures of gods, etc., show the importance of this trade-centre ¹).

An unexpected discovery was the city-wall of Kârum I b period, which came to light during the cutting of a canal. Since only I b pottery was found associated with this wall, it has been dated to that period. It had been known previously that there had been a wall enclosing the Hüyük, but now with the new findings, it can be stated that the Kârum-area also had an outer defensive wall ²).

II. *Tilmen Hüyük* (Gaziantep)

The excavations at Tilmen Hüyük, 10 km. east of İslâhiye, have reached their fifth season, and the work was continued under the direction of Dr. U. B. ALKIM on behalf of the Turkish Historical Society, the Directorate-General of Antiquities, and İstanbul University.

A. *The Palace of Level II and building-complexes belonging to it:*

In the Palace, covering an area of 67 × 78 metres, further detailed architectural work was undertaken, and it has been established that the phases IIa, IIb, and IIc are to be further subdivided. Starting from the *lowest phase of the palace*, namely *Level IIc₃*, which is oriented on an east-west axis, this is the oldest building period. It possessed a monumental entrance leading to several rooms, and then to the Throne-room or Reception Hall. In ground-plan and architectural features, it is similar to the Level VII Palace at Alalah. During the *periods IIc₂ and IIc₁* some extensions were then made at the northeast end of the palace. Since these may have been merely domestic areas, they cannot

¹) T. ÖZGÜÇ, *Bulleten III*, 561 f.; cf. P. GARELLI, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* [Paris, 1963], 161-168; K. EMRE, *Anatolia 7* (1963) [1964], 87-99.

²) MELLINK, 151 f.; T. ÖZGÜÇ in *AnSt 14* [1964], 21.

be classed as important additions. However, in *period IIb*, there was added an important new wing at the north side of the palace. The kingdom to which it belonged had apparently gained in power and wealth during this period, and so the palace was enlarged and its living-quarters were separated from the official area. This level was finally destroyed by a great fire. On the evidence of both its architectural characteristics and small finds, Dr. B. ALKIM dates it between the 18th and 16th centuries B.C., and proposes that its destruction was a result of the campaigns of the Hittite king Hattusilis I in this region. In *period IIa₂* following this conflagration, the original wing IIc₃ of the palace (except for its staircase) was no longer used. But the building IIb on the north side was restored to use after a slight renovation. It is possible that this phase is to be dated to the 16th-14th centuries B.C. Coming to the *period IIa₁*, a systematic ground-plan of the construction activity of this period has proved impossible to determine, since the level was very much demolished in Roman times. It is clear nevertheless that, since some of the doorways of the earlier IIa₂ palace were walled up in period IIa₁, the general plan must have been altered considerably. This phase belongs most likely to the 13th-12th centuries or even somewhat later, possibly to the very beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., on the evidence of ceramics and small finds.

During this year's activities, three other buildings contemporary with the palace were brought to light. The first of these, an independent structure consisting of three rooms (16 × 6 metres) located four metres north of the palace, looks on the whole very much like a *chapel* (Pl. XX A). The second, a massive-looking rectangular building (20 × 28.50 metres) with thick walls, contiguous with the western wall of the palace-building IIc₃, shows two distinct phases in some parts of its walls. The third building, only one room of which has been excavated, is situated 14 metres northwest of the palace; the profusion of ceramics and the presence of an oven suggest that this may have been the *kitchen-establishment* of the palace and have belonged to the prosperous IIb period (Pl. XX B).

Clearing of the *remains of the city-wall*, a small segment of which had been discovered in 1961 adjoining the southern rooms of the palace in its level IIc₃, was begun this year. It was found to extend in a northwesterly direction, and was cleared to a length of 7.50 metres. The outer face of this city-wall had been constructed with rectangular basalt blocks of elaborate workmanship. Its special feature, a series of „saw-tooth” indentations or offsets, two very well-preserved instances of which were found, is particularly important from the point of view of the history of fortification architecture (Pl. XX C). It is noteworthy that this type of city-wall construction, used by the Hittites and found also in Troy VI, had already been in use as early as the 18th century B.C. at Tilmen. The stone-cutting technique used in the materials of this

city-wall is similar to that of the Level IIc₃ palace against which it abuts, and correspondingly to that of Level VII at Alalah (Tell Atchana).

B. *Trench D*:

Work begun in the previous season to determine occupation-levels older than the earliest Second Millennium palace continued this year. The trench D, in the open courtyard of the palace, was enlarged in both directions to an area of about 17.5 × 16 metres. During the 1962 campaign, seven sub-levels (IIIa to IIIg) had been distinguished in this sounding, and in 1963, an eighth sub-level (IIIh, probably Early Bronze II₂) was reached in one narrowly confined sector in the trench (Pl. XXI, A, B).

C. *Tracing of historical roads over the Amanus Mountains*:

Following up previous investigations of ancient roads through the eastern passes of the Taurus Mountains, the expedition aimed to trace some of the little-known roads crossing the Amanus Range, through which today only two routes are in general use: (a) the southwestern one connecting Antakya and the Amouk Plain with İskenderun, crossing via the Beylân Pass; and (b) the northeastern ones used by the railroad and the Adana-Fevzipaşa-Gaziantep highway, which only partly overlap the ancient route using the Arslanlıbel Pass and therefore debouching a short distance to the north of Fevzipaşa. During the 1963 season therefore, the expedition investigated and traced the northernmost of the today unfrequented routes which cross the Amanus to the south of the Arslanlıbel-Fevzipaşa routes and to the north of the Beylân Pass route. The route traced connects the area of İslâhiye with that of Erzin on the Gulf of İskenderun, and its itinerary is as follows: İslâhiye — Kırıkçalı — Hartanlı — Kerküt — Tandır — the Pass of Demirogluk Bel (1760 metres above sea-level, and still containing several of the impressive cedar-trees for which the Amanus Mountains were famous in antiquity; Pl. XXI, C) — the mountain-valley of Hınzır Yaylası (Pl. XXI, D) — Üçgöz — Erzin. The actual road-distance along this route amounts to about 70 km., although the distance from İslâhiye to Erzin is just about 40 kilometres as the crow flies. It is hoped in future seasons to investigate the routes still further south which connect the area of Hassa east of the Amanus with the town of Dörtöl on the coast, via mountain-passes through the most thickly wooded part of the Amanus close to the highest peak, Mıgır Tepe (which is possibly the Mt. Atalur of the Hittite and Assyrian historical inscriptions)¹.

12. *Kara Hüyük (Konya)*

The Excavations directed by Dr. S. ALP under the auspices of the Turkish

¹) U. B. ALKIM, *Belleten* 111, 561 f.; *id.* *AnSt* 14 [1964], 23 f.



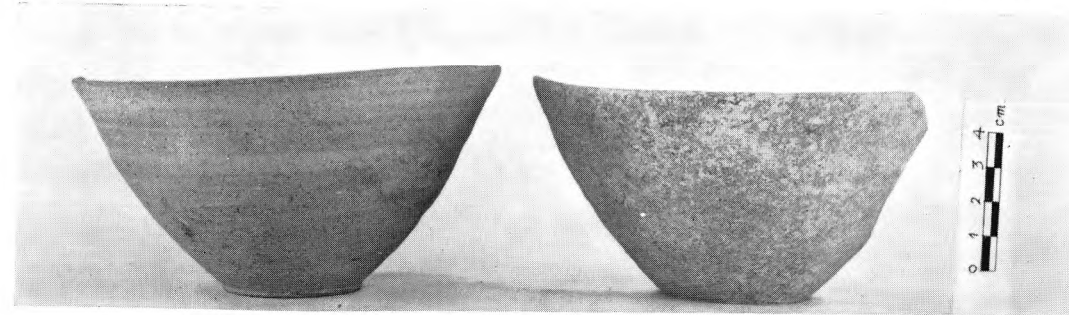
A. Tilmen Hüyük: the three-room building in Level IIb (a chapel?).



B. Tilmen Hüyük: a room of the kitchen building (Level IIb).



C. Tilmen Hüyük: remains of the city-wall (Level IIc) showing the "saw-tooth" offset aspect.



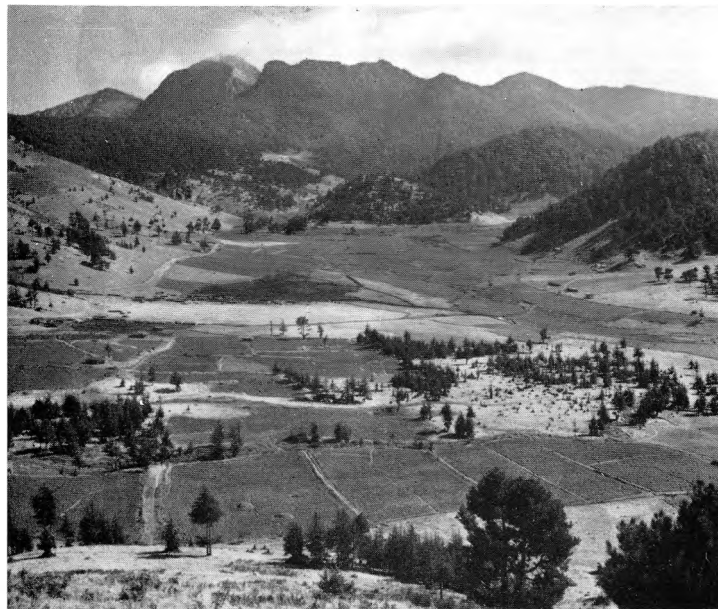
A. Tilmén Hüyük-Trench D: two terracotta cups from Level IIIId.



B. Earthen pot from Trench D, Level IIIId.



C. Impressive cedar trees at the Pass of Demiroluk between Tandır and Hınzır



D. Hınzır Yaylası (Mountain Valley of Hınzır) between the Pass of Demiroluk and Erzin.

Historical Society, the Directorate-General of Antiquities and University of Ankara continued this year too. Work was undertaken in three different sectors ¹⁾.

A. In the trench in which a "sacred building", thought to be a mother-goddess temple and two storage-rooms(?) were found in 1961, an additional storage-room was brought to light during this season. This building, dated to the Early Bronze Age, is different from the other buildings of this period and shows such a well-ordered plan that it is assumed to have been a public building. This year's activities reached the deepest layers of the VIIth Level, where a pottery of a red colour was found. They have beak-shaped openings and women's breasts are painted on them in black. From the same period face-urns were also found, a ceramic style which continued in fashion at this site until Levels II and I. These face-urns are famous for having been found in Levels II-V at Troy; they were also in use at Kumtepe (near Troy) in Level I-c, which is earlier than Troy I. According to Mr. J. MELLAART, those of the Konya region may be contemporary with Troy II, or Early Bronze II; Mr. MELLAART further suggests that the face-urns found in the upper levels of Kara Hüyük belong to the Middle Bronze Age ²⁾. The occurrence of this type in the VIIth Level at Kara Hüyük shows that they represent a very old tradition. A cross-handed cover found in Level VII also has certain resemblances to finds from Troy.

In Level VIII, partially excavated under the "sacred building", there is another building showing the very same plan.

In Levels V and VI "Intermediate Ware" was plentiful; it was apparently already popular in the older Level VII, but only rare specimens were found in the still earlier Level VIII.

B. To the north on the upper part of the mound, a sector where very interesting finds have turned up since 1960, has been called the "Rubbish-pit" by Dr. ALP. The floor and the northern limit of the pit which had disturbed five levels through which it had been dug, were cleared during the 1963 season. There, straight down to the bottom, wheel-made wares were found. At the same time a lead figurine representing a sphinx and a lion, and one cylinder-seal in the Syro-Hittite style as well as two others in the local Anatolian style were discovered.

C. Off to the side of the Hüyük itself and to the north, excavation of the 6.5 metres-thick wall, which was begun in 1962, was continued for a length of 15 metres, but the function of this wall has not yet been established.

¹⁾ S. ALP, *Belleten* III, 562 f.; MELLINK, 152 f. and Pl. 50, Fig. 9.

²⁾ J. MELLAART, *Early Cultures of the South Anatolian Plateau II*, *AnSt* 13 [1963], 218, fig. 10.

13. *Sema Hüyük* (Antalya)

Under the auspices of Bryn Mawr College (U.S.A.), an expedition directed by Dr. M. J. MELLINK began excavations at Sema Hüyük in the Elmalı Plain in the interior of Lycia ¹).

This Hüyük, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants after a violent conflagration, belongs to the end of the Early Bronze Age. It has a height of 3-4 metres and is 50 m. in diameter. In a field nearby, a cemetery containing sixty-two graves was found, and was excavated over an area of about 35 × 50 metres. All the graves consisted of pithoi, the rims of which faced to the east. The skeletons in the pithoi were in a contracted position, but most of these vessels had been reused. Whenever this was the case, the previous skeleton had been pushed down to the bottom of the pithos, and the new one put in above it. As many as six different burials have been noted in the same pithos. Gifts to the dead consisted of ceramics placed either inside or out of the pithos, bronze jewelry, and idols with flat rectangular bodies. Miss MELLINK dates the burials to the Early Bronze Age II-III ²).

14. *Müsgebi - Early Bronze Age* (Muğla)

A University of Pennsylvania—Boston University expedition in 1963 led by Dr. EMILY VERMEULE of Boston University aimed at finding the location in or around the Müsgebi Valley, some ten kilometres west of Bodrum-Halikarnassos, of the citadel or settlement-site of the Mycenaean Period whose inhabitants had been buried in the Müsgebi Mycenaean necropolis (see entry no. 16 below). Although the group fine-combed "every stone wall, tangle of roots, farmyard, orchard, lane, dry brook and hilltop" in the entire valley, as a result discovering and mapping shrines and dwelling-remains of every period from the Iron Age "Archaic" through the early Mediaeval, they could find no sign of a Mycenaean or any other Late Bronze settlement-site.

Nevertheless, a most important and totally unexpected discovery was made. Thanks to the enthusiasm generated among the local villagers, these brought to Dr. VERMEULE and her group for examination every conceivable kind of of *antika* that they could lay their hands on. Among the objects brought for inspection was one complete specimen of a hand-made beaked jug of crude clay, pale red with a mottled decoration of black spots, which on one hand showed affinities to certain Early Bronze Age wares of inland southwest Anatolia as well as to ceramic types known from Thermi on Lesbos which

¹) For the year 1962, cf. M. J. MELLINK, AJA 66 [1962], 77 f.

²) MELLINK, 156; E.M.U.M.'s information; M. J. MELLINK, *Excavations at Karataş-Semahüyük in Lycia, 1963*, AJA 68 [1964], 269-278, and Plates 77-82.

are contemporary with late Troy I or early Troy II, but on the other hand seemed to be "ancestral" to the Vasiliki Ware of Early Minoan II of Crete. It was learnt that the source of this complete jug (and another found with it, which had a "horn" above its handle, but was otherwise similar), as well as of numerous fragmentary pieces, was from giant wells dug for water and mud to irrigate the fields in the lower part of the valley about two kilometres due northwest of the seashore and about six kilometres to the south of Müsgebi village itself. The wells themselves drew the water from the water-table which here is some 4 to 5 metres below the surface of the plain, and were usually dug further to a depth of 10 to 12 metres below the ground. Most of the vases and fragments seem to have been brought up from a level about 8 to 10 metres below the present surface, that is, from 3 to 6 metres *below the water-table*. In the course of further investigation among the peasants, Dr. VERMEULE and her group were able to find, photograph and describe three additional complete vases, one of these exactly like the first which they had been shown, the second a shallow cup with simple loop-handle of a type also known from the islands of Cos and Rhodos, while the third of these was a round pyxis-type jar with doubled-horned lugs pierced with string-holes in place of handles and with projecting nipples alongside the lugs, being altogether very much like the wares of the Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades.

It also became clear that because the villagers work into the mud in the bottom of the wells with pickaxes both to loosen the mud and to "clear away stones", most of the wares which come up are broken in the process, the sherds of which are therefore found spread all over the fields irrigated with the mud and water. Although some of this particular ceramic turns up from the wells scattered over almost the whole lower valley, the heaviest concentration is apparently within a restricted area some 300 metres in diameter.

Dr. VERMEULE had at first concluded that this material had come up from the graves of a subterranean necropolis (as was in fact announced in her first preliminary reports), but finally—accepting the testimony of the villagers that neither human bones nor any tools or household objects of obsidian, bone or metal have ever turned up—she has reached the conclusion that the deposit in the lower valley represents *not a necropolis but a settlement-site*, presumably buried beneath a thick level of alluvium. She does admit however that, while several fragments of *large pithoi* which have turned up "might have been used as burial-jars", the absence of bones weighs strongly and causes her to reject the necropolis thesis. The *possibility of cremation-burials*, with the decomposed bone-ash not recognizable in the mud, is apparently not considered in Dr. VERMEULE's analysis. (Strangely, one of the wells in this area, but closer to the sea than those which form the centre of concentration for the pottery, brought

forth a fragmentary stone-stele inscribed with nine lines of what is apparently the still undeciphered Carian script, representing a very much later burial beneath the alluvium of the plain.)¹⁾

15. *Acem Hüyük* (Aksaray-Niğde)

Sponsored by the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums, and the University of Ankara, under the direction of Dr. N. ÖZGÜÇ, the excavations which were begun in 1962²⁾, were once again carried out in 1963.

The work in the trench at the centre of the mound continued and, in order to establish a more detailed stratigraphy, a new trench was opened to the west of it. The levels are as follows (apart from a small area where Hellenistic remains occur on the surface):

Level I is contemporary with Kârum Kaneš I (Kültepe). On this level, where there is no trace of destruction by fire, paved courtyards were cleared.

Level II, better preserved, has architecture corresponding to that of Kârum Kaneš II, and pottery to that of both Kârum Kaneš Ib and II.

Level III was destroyed by a conflagration which caused the houses to be preserved with all their household equipment in place. The level here is contemporary in time with both Level III and Level IV at Kârum Kaneš.

A deep sounding produced materials similar to that of Kültepe but with local variation; a variant of "Intermediate Ware" occurs together with "Alişar III" type wares. Levels IV and V were reached and differentiated³⁾.

16. *Müsgebi - Mycenaean* (Bodrum-Muğla)

In 1962 Dr. G. F. BASS, Director of Underwater Archaeology at Yassıada (Bodrum), accompanied by Dr. M. J. MELLINK and Mr. H. ELBE, following up the information given by the villagers who had discovered tombs at a point about 1.5 km. from Müsgebi, made preliminary investigations at the site and deposited the ceramics found there in the Museum at Bodrum⁴⁾.

In 1963, formal excavations began under the direction of Dr. Y. BOYSAL of the University of Ankara, bringing to light several chamber-tombs in the hillsides both to the east and to the west of a small valley. These tombs, which had been carved out of the white bed-rock without regard to orientation, proved to be round-roofed chambers with short dromoi. Twenty-four tombs contained skeletons, but some smaller tombs with cremation burials were also

¹⁾ MELLINK, 157; E. VERMEULE, *The Early Bronze Age in Caria*, Archaeology 17 [1964], 244-249.

²⁾ For the year 1962, cf. M. J. MELLINK, AJA 67 [1963], 179; N. ÖZGÜÇ, AnSt 13 [1963], 28.

³⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information.

⁴⁾ G. F. BASS, *Mycenaean and Proto-geometric Tombs in the Halicarnassus Peninsula*, AJA 67 [1963], 353-361.

found. The pottery is primarily Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB, with some few specimens of the IIIC type. In addition to some 100 intact pieces of pottery, the finds included some twenty metal objects, with the result that the Bodrum-Halikarnassos Museum "now has more Mycenaean antiquities than any other town in the Near East",¹⁾ (see also entry no. 14).

17. *Alaca Hüyük* (Çorum)

The excavations under the direction of Dr. H. Z. KOŞAY and sponsored by the Turkish Historical Society and the Directorate-General of Antiquities, which had been resumed in the year 1962, were continued again this year.

Work was undertaken at a number of specific points, including the areas just behind the Sphinx Gate as well as in the "Hittite temple" and its immediate surroundings, with the aim of investigating the relationship between the settlement-area and the royal tombs of the Early Bronze Age III. At the same time, the area adjoining the presumed "Postern Gate" and the "Hittite quarter" were excavated. During this work, several stamp-seals and cylinder-seals, a new type of cup of the Chalcolithic period, and various other objects were found, adding up to a total of 224 new pieces²⁾.

18. *Boğazköy* (Çorum)

The excavations continued on behalf of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft under the general direction of Dr. K. BITTEL, and were conducted by Dr. P. NEVE (Architect and Field Director).

During the previous seasons' work the gateway to the Büyükkale and a road paved with red stones had been brought to light. Further investigations this year have shown that this road, after passing through a second gate and entering into another courtyard, finally lead to the palace itself.

In 1962, a small trench had been opened in the lower courtyard, uncovering part of a room in a large building belonging to Level IVd, and a great quantity of ceramic material had been discovered. This year, during further work on this Level IVd sounding, two nearly complete bull-shaped vessels were found. The fact that the tails of these two bulls are turned in two opposite directions suggests that they had constituted a complementary pair, which combined with the presence of bridles in their mouths leads one to think that they may have been meant to represent the two bulls pulling the chariot of the Storm-God of the Hurrian Pantheon³⁾.

¹⁾ MELLINK, 157; E.M.U.M.'s information; also E. VERMEULE, *op. cit.*, 244 f. (with map).

²⁾ H. Z. KOŞAY, Belleten 111, 561; MELLINK 152.

³⁾ From the Lecture delivered by Dr. R. NAUMANN on the occasion of the "Winckelmann's Tag" (İstanbul, December 9, 1963); MELLINK, 152; E.M.U.M.'s information.

19. *Ilıca* (Ayaş-Ankara)

On behalf of the German Archaeological Institute, Dr. W. ORTHMANN began excavations at Ilıca, 10 km. northwest of the town of Ayaş, which is situated 48 km. west of Ankara ¹⁾.

The ancient cemetery at Ilıca had been constructed with stones arranged in rows similar to menhirs. The plot excavated covered an area of 7×25 metres, in which eighty-two graves were brought to light. All but one of these represented cremation burials, each consisting of beaked jars of pithos type ("Pithosschnabelkannen"), within which the ashes and bones of the cremated bodies had been placed. There were few burial-gifts; in some cases, small vessels had been put either on top of the burial jars or inside them. Study of the variety of ceramic-types used has made it possible to narrow the dating of these graves to within a very brief span of time, probably close to about 1700 B.C.

In Ilıca there were also found a number of inhumation graves belonging to a much later period (Byzantine ?). These were in rectangular ditches, the roofs of which had been covered with stone slabs. Their depths were about 45 cm., and the skeletal remains in them were in a poor state of preservation.

The distance between the ancient cemetery and the ancient settlement-site, which lies on a hill called Asarcık behind the village of Ilıca, is about 800 metres. The remains of walls and fortifications are to be seen on the surface; a lower city-area is also to be distinguished on the eastern side. It is hoped that future campaigns at Ilıca will elucidate this ancient city and its necropolis ²⁾.

20. *Dirmil* (Muğla)

In 1962, the members of the Underwater Expedition at Yassiada, lead by Dr. G. F. BASS, accompanied by H. ELBE and B. MUTLU, visited the spot and drew plans of this site, information about which had been given by the villagers ³⁾.

The tomb, which is located south of the village of Dirmil (now renamed Gökçebel), proved to consist of a rectangular tomb-chamber with a short dromos, and from pottery found in it, was seen to belong to the Proto-Geometric period. In 1963 excavations and further study were carried out by Dr. E. AKURGAL of the University of Ankara, whose finds included a terracotta sarcophagus and a fibula. During the course of this excavation, a number of other tombs nearby were also brought to light ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ The site had already been noticed by K. KÖKTEN in 1945, see *Belleten* XI, no. 43 [1947], 441 ff.

²⁾ W. ORTHMANN, *Ein Brandgräberfeld hethitischer Zeit bei Ilıca*, AA 1964, 322-331 and plan; *id.*, *AnSt* 14 [1964], 28.

³⁾ G. F. BASS, *op. cit.*, AJA 67 [1963], 353-361.

⁴⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; Cf. further S. TUNAKAN, *Bodrum-Dirmil Kazısı iskeletleri*, *Belleten* III, 361-371.

21. *The Cemetery at Ünsel, formerly Ernis/Arnis* (Van)

Directed by Dr. A. ERZEN and under the auspices of the Turkish Historical Society and the Directorate-General of Antiquities, an expedition has during the course of the past several years been investigating the entire region of Van, resulting in the discovery and investigation of numerous historical and archaeological monuments at various points within the district. During the season of 1962 an ancient cemetery was discovered at the township-centre of Ünsel (then known as Ernis or Arnis) near the northeast corner of Lake Van, and two unrobbed graves were then excavated ¹⁾. This year, at the same place, ten additional untouched graves were excavated, and in the course of further investigation in the vicinity, it was established that the main ancient cemetery in the area was located in the plain surrounding the nearby Evditepe. Therefore the excavations were shifted in that direction ²⁾.

22. *Evditepe Cemetery* (Van)

Dr. A. ERZEN and his collaborators found the cemetery of Evditepe (which is the continuation of the cemetery of Ünsel), located between Keçikıran Kalesi and the cemetery of Ünsel, and named after Evditepe on the plain.

Here, the expedition discovered seven tombs. These tombs which were built of stones are rectangular in plan and are of cavetto-vault construction: flat stone-slabs were put near one another to form the roof. The short sides of the tombs have very short *dromoi*. Inside these entrances additional inhumations were discovered. Thus, several burial phases could be distinguished in a single tomb. Tombs 4, 5, 6 and 7 yielded many small objects; in one of them there were eighty pieces of pottery, and in the next two tombs were found thirty pieces. Almost all were intact and altogether they amounted to three hundred pieces. They were found, one inside the other, or in heaps. The wares are black and red in colour, and consist of cups, bowls, beaked jugs, cooking pots, and other types. In the tombs, more than three hundred pieces of necklaces, metal rings and bracelets were found. These show that women were included among the dead buried there ³⁾.

23. *The Cemetery of Alacahan* (Van)

The group excavating Ünsel and Evditepe found still another cemetery to the west of the Alpaslan Teachers' School situated at Alacahan. Here, several tombs were excavated and one of them especially attracted much attention. This is a large chamber-tomb measuring 6.60 × 3.25 × 2.80 metres, and oriented

¹⁾ For the year 1962, cf. A. ERZEN, *Toprakale ve Çavuştepe Kazıları Raporu 1962*, TAD 12, 1 (1962) [1964], 20.

²⁾ A. ERZEN, *Belleten* III, 571 f.

³⁾ A. ERZEN, *Belleten* III, 571; *id.*, E. BİLGİÇ, Y. BOYSAL, and B. ÖĞÜN, TAD XII, 2 (1963) [1965], 34 ff.

in a north-south direction. As it shows a unique shape and plan, it was decided to make it the object of more detailed investigation the next year. According to Dr. ERZEN the tombs of Alacahan in general show a different technique of construction from the tombs of Evditepe, and to judge from the pottery inside, they may be dated earlier than the tombs at Evditepe ¹⁾.

24. *Altintepe* (Erzincan)

The expedition directed by Dr. T. ÖZGÜÇ, under the auspices of the Turkish Historical Society and the Directorate-General of Antiquities continued its work at Altintepe.

The uncovering of the plan of the audience-hall of the palace which had been begun during the preceding year, was completed. It was established that the entrance, consisting of three successive halls, was on the southeast. The excavations at Altintepe have shown that this palace represents an earlier prototype of the Apadana, or audience-hall, of Achaemenian Iran. The west end of the temple and a part of the mosaic-room has already been uncovered.

Dr. ÖZGÜÇ sees a resemblance between this temple and the temple at Erebuni (Arim-berd), but the court-yard here and the colonnade surrounding it are larger. The walls of the temple-rooms are also covered with frescoes, but they are different from the ones which are seen on the walls of the apadana-type audience-hall here dating from the late Urartian Period. This type of temple plan is an innovation of the Urartians ²⁾.

25. *Toprakkale* (Van)

The University of Erzurum was added this year to the group undertaking the excavations at Toprakkale under the auspices of the Turkish Historical Society and the Directorate-General of Antiquities. The expedition was directed by Dr. A. ERZEN. During the work in the entrance to the temple hall, which had been cleared last year (1962), a water-channel and, in the area between this channel and the temple, an altar were found. This altar had been erected with ashlar-masonry on hardened soil above the leveled rock. The channel beginning at the altar runs toward the south, and is divided into two branches on the sloping surface. The continuation of this channel will be investigated next year ³⁾.

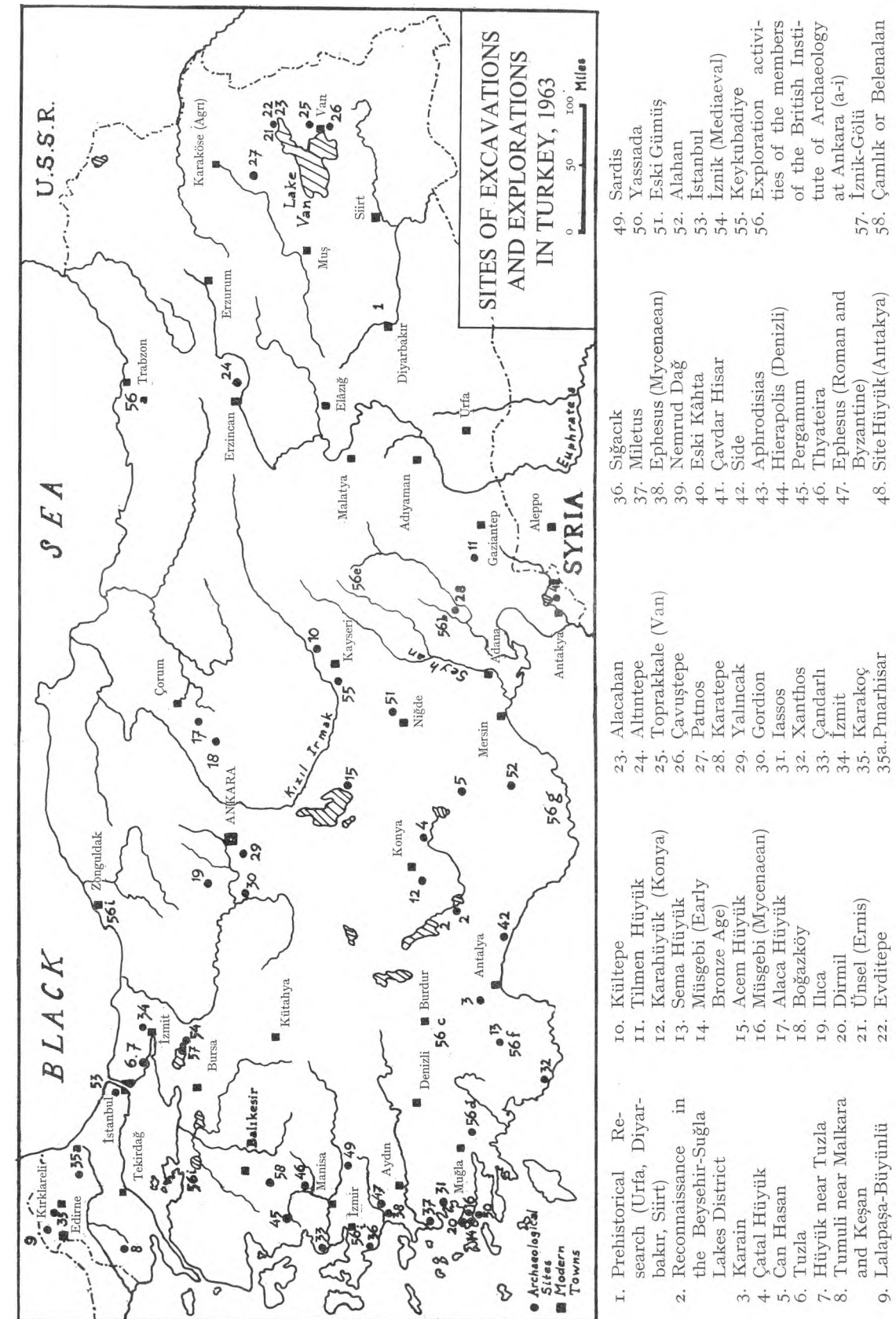
26. *Çavuştepe* (Van)

The expedition to Toprakkale also continued its excavations at Çavuştepe. (formerly Asbaşın Kalesi, and before that known as Astwadzašen).

¹⁾ *Id., op. cit.*, pp. 571 f.; MELLINK, 158.

²⁾ T. ÖZGÜÇ, *Belleten* III, 562; *id.*, *The Urartian Architecture on the Summit of Altintepe*, *Anatolia* 7 (1963) [1964], pp. 43-49; MELLINK, 158.

³⁾ A. ERZEN, *Belleten* III, 568 f.; MELLINK, 158.



A. *City-Wall*: Work was begun in the area to the north which is believed to be the entrance side, in view of the elaborate buildings found there, and the clearing of the walls was carried out, as far as the northern corner.

It was established that the city-walls had been erected on virgin rock, cut as foundations on a series of leveled steps, and that this rock itself had in places been utilized in lieu of connecting-walls. Dr. Erzen has suggested that these step-like cuttings (which have until now been generally supposed to have been staircases) had actually been hewn expressly for the building of the wall foundations. This is perfectly clear in Çavuştepe. Work has continued on the southeast side, where the staircase construction had been brought to light the previous year.

B. *The area with pillars and cisterns*: The northwest part of the pillared hall was dug, and it was established that ashlar masonry had been laid directly on the hewn rock. A *tandır* (typically east Anatolian pit-oven) with ashes and charcoal, and typical red Urartian pottery, were found.

C. *The room northeast of Cistern no. 3*: This room with dimensions of 8.90 × 2.85 metres, surrounded by stone walls, had been constructed upon the smoothed rock, and has an earthen floor 30 to 40 centimetres thick, above which lies a pavement of stone 110 centimetres below the surface, covered in turn with a 40 centimetres thick deposit containing Urartian ceramics, grinding-stones, pig bones, and bone implements. Together and mixed with the Urartian pottery was found a great amount of grossly moulded, wheel-made, non-polished, pale yellow and black ceramic ware. This pottery is similar to that found at the Evditepe necropolis.

D. *Cistern no. 4*, with dimensions of 1.15 × 2.10 metres, had been hewn from the native rock. Arrow-heads, pottery, and skeletons were found at a depth of 1.80 metres. Work here will continue in the future.

E. *Irmusini Temple*: A temple was found to the west of the middle part of the Lower Fortress. Despite its similarity to the Urartian temples of the god Haldi, this building, whose cella measures 10 × 10 metres, differs from them in that its entrance is at the east (instead of the south). An inscription on one of the walls to the south of the entrance has been read by Dr. E. BİLGİÇ of the University of Ankara. It is a dedication by the Urartian king Sardur III to the god Irmusini. This temple will be investigated in detail during the next season.

F. *The Upper Fortress*: Sondages made here for the first time this year indicated that beneath the mediaeval settlement in the uppermost levels, Urartian walls are to be found. ¹⁾

¹⁾ A. ERZEN, *Belleten* III, 569 f.; MELLINK, 158.

27. *Patnos* (Ağrı)

On behalf of the Atatürk University (Erzurum) and under the direction of Dr. K. BALKAN of the University of Ankara, systematic excavations were begun in 1962 at Patnos.

In 1963, on the site known as Aznavurtepe, architectural and stratigraphical investigations were carried out. A number of fine jewelry pieces, amulets, stamp-seals in the shape of animals (one is in the form of a couchant lion), cylinder-seals, and numerous typically Urartian ceramics in assorted shapes, were found. In addition, a vase of deinos-type, belonging perhaps to an earlier period, and decorated with three finely-modeled female faces painted in lively colours alternating with floral and geometric patterns, was discovered ¹⁾.

28. *Karatepe and Kadirli* (Adana)

At *Karatepe*, restoration work continued under the auspices of the Turkish Historical Society, the Directorate-General of Antiquities, and İstanbul University, and under the direction of Dr. H. ÇAMBEL.

The creation of the Open-Air Museum at Karatepe is proceeding apace. Excavations were carried out in the remains of a large building located just inside the North Gate, bringing to light a number of room-partitions; in the course of this work, several new fragments of both reliefs and inscriptions were discovered. During the restoration of the previously found statues, reliefs and inscriptions, some of the newly-found fragments could be placed, and a considerable number of gaps could be filled in.

The Alacami Mosque at Kadirli: Inside the town of Kadirli, work continued on the laying bare and cleaning of the floor-mosaics belonging to the Roman period Basilica underlying the Alacami Mosque, which will become a local museum. Plans and coloured drawings of the mosaics so far cleared, both inside and outside the basilica, have been made ready for publication ²⁾.

29. *Yalıncağ* (Ankara)

On behalf of the Middle East Technical University (Ankara), and under the direction of archaeologist Mr. B. TEZCAN of the Hittite Museum in Ankara, excavations were begun at a town-site 15 km. southwest of Ankara near the former village of Yalıncağ, on the lands belonging to the above-mentioned University.

Preliminary sondages at the site established that the town had been founded directly on the virgin rock, and contained levels extending from the Phrygian period through the Byzantine period. The town had been surrounded by walls two metres in thickness, and the masonry shows an elaborate technique; it

¹⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 158.

²⁾ H. ÇAMBEL, *Belleten* III, 572; MELLINK, 158 f.

may have been built in the pre-Hellenistic period, although it seems to have continued in use later. Within the town, architectural fragments were found, indicating the existence of a shrine and well-built houses belonging to several different periods. Among these fragments are two Ionic capitals, an altar with reliefs, and a votive relief of the god Zeus with his eagle.

Investigations also brought to light a fragment of a Phrygian orthostat belonging to the same series as one with a lion in relief, discovered in 1898 built into the largest village-fountain at Yalıncak and exhibited since 1941 in the Bedesten (Hittite) Museum in Ankara ¹⁾. The newly-found fragment, which had also been used in the fountain, had been cut in half, and a now poorly-preserved inscription in Greek had been carved in the place of the relief which had been scraped off. Further reused fragments of the same "Ankara stone" (reddish andesite) were discovered in the now abandoned village-houses, and these will be further examined in future seasons.

During the excavations, work was begun simultaneously in four trenches lettered A through D. The fourth of these was especially important as it provided the means of establishing the stratigraphy of the architectural levels. This stratification runs as follows: Byzantine (level I), Roman (level II), Hellenistic (levels III and IV), and Phrygian (levels V and VI); between the upper Phrygian level V and the earlier Hellenistic level IV, there was evidence of extensive destruction by fire. Finally, a necropolis was located in the near vicinity of the village fountain, and preliminary excavations were carried out there.

According to the excavator, an interesting type of painted pottery with figures in relief found in the Hellenistic levels are precious remains of the Galatians, whose primary centres were in Ankara and its surroundings ²⁾.

30. Gordion (Ankara)

On behalf of the University of Pennsylvania and under the direction of Dr. R. S. YOUNG, an expedition continued the excavations at Gordion. A building was brought to light from a Phrygian level earlier than the eighth century B.C. city which was destroyed by the Kimmerians. Among the findings in this building, a Phrygian cylinder-seal similar to the Hittite cylinder-seals, four golden Lydian coins, golden Hellenistic coins, bone forehead-ornaments for horses, and small statuettes were found ³⁾.

¹⁾ H. G. GÜTERBOCK, *Guide to the Hittite Museum in the Bedesten at Ankara*, [İstanbul 1946], pp. 45 f.

²⁾ B. TEZCAN, *Yalıncak Village Excavations 1962-1963*, [Ankara 1964] (=Middle East Technical University, Archaeological Publications, no. 1); MELLINK, 159.

³⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK 159; R. S. YOUNG, *The 1963 Campaign at Gordion*, AJA 68, [1964], 279-292, Pl. 83-90.

31. Iassos (Muğla)

Under the auspices of the Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente and directed by Dr. DORO LEVI, the excavations continued at Iassos ¹⁾.

The work at the cemetery, which was found last year, went on this year too. The tombs are cist-graves and smaller than usual. There is only one skeleton to each tomb, and the tomb-furniture is very modest: one single vase at the head of the corpse, some copper rings, and *helikes* (hair-spirals).

The pottery of Iassos shows connections between Anatolia and Greece. Dr. DORO LEVI suggests that several of the vases have shapes and decorative patterns which are similar to those found in Anatolian necropolises of the Early Bronze(!) Age such as the one at Alaca Hüyük.

There is also another circular-shaped tomb, which shows a similarity to the ones of Syros and the Cyclades. These tombs were dated by Dr. DORO LEVI to the last centuries of the third millennium B.C.

It was established that the theatre cleared at Iassos belonged to the Greek period, but, with some additional constructions, had been used during the Roman period too. Proto-geometric and Attic red-figured vases were found in addition to well-built houses of the fourth century B.C. At the eastern city-gate, additions made during the Byzantine period were noted ²⁾.

32. The Letoön at Xanthos (Muğla)

The expedition under the direction of Dr. H. METZGER and the Commission des Fouilles et Missions Archéologiques continued the work at the Letoön, situated four kilometres southwest of the city of Xanthos on the opposite bank of the river. The temple is a hexastyle Ionic peripteros. Quite a few architectural fragments were found. It was established that the temple, which was destroyed by an earthquake, did not belong to the Roman period, but had been built during the Hellenistic period in the first or second century B.C.

New investigations brought to light the existence of both classical and archaic levels to the south-west of this building. These levels are to-day below the water-table.

To the south of the temple, in a Byzantine church, was discovered a Lycian inscription, and to the east side of the temple, in another building, a Greek-

¹⁾ For previous seasons, see DORO LEVI, *Missioni in Levante le due prima Campagne di Scavi a Iassos (1960-1961)*, Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente, XXXIX-XL (N.S. XXIII-XXIV, 1961-1962), [Rome 1963], 505-571.

²⁾ DORO LEVI, *Minoan Research Crosses the Aegean: Recent Excavations at Iassos in Caria*, ILN vol. 242, no. 6468 [July 20, 1963], 88-91; *id*, *La Scuola Archeologica di Atene e le Missioni in Levante*, Or Ant 3 [1964], 172 and pl. LXXXIX-XCII; MELLINK, 161.

Lycian bilingual inscription dedicated to Artemis was found. One of these inscriptions is contemporary with the well-known Stele of Xanthos ¹⁾).

33. *Çandarlı* (İzmir)

Under the direction of Dr. E. AKURGAL and on the behalf of the Turkish Historical Society and the Directorate-General of Antiquities the excavations of ancient Pitane continued this year. Many additional ceramics were found in the necropolis. Vases in the Attic style, among which a very beautiful specimen of black-figured kylix, a second kylix similar to the bowl attributed to "the Heidelberg Master" found here in 1961, as well as four plates from a sixth century B.C. Attic workshop, are worth mentioning. Apart from these, there were goblets of the Chios style, on one of which is depicted a scene from the Trojan legend showing the flight of Troïlos with Achilles in pursuit. "Orientalizing" vases of Aeolian type originating from the northern Aegean area, and local late geometric and proto-geometric pottery were also found ²⁾).

34. *The Hellenistic tomb at İzmit* (İzmit)

During the digging of the foundations for a new building in the commercial quarter of İzmit (ancient Nicomedia) known as Tepecik, several pieces of gold jewelry were discovered. Construction work was stopped, and the İstanbul Archaeological Museum was informed. Archaeologist Mr. E. ATAÇERI, sent by the Museum, on carefully investigating the site, discovered that the objects were part of the burial-gifts in a tomb made from evenly-cut rectangular blocks of calcareous tufa stone, and constructed without the use of mortar in a typically Hellenistic fashion. Since the tomb itself had already been destroyed, its actual plan could not be learnt, and there were no traces of associated buildings which had probably originally surrounded the tomb, located not in the area of either of the known Roman period necropolises, but close to the very centre of Roman Nicomedia, about 100 metres from the remains of the Nymphaion. From the skeletal remains found, as well as the character of the grave-furnishings recovered, it is clear that this tomb must have belonged to a lady of the early Hellenistic period.

The articles of jewelry, and the circular bronze mirror found with them, were brought to the İstanbul Archaeological Museum, where they were cleaned and repaired, and then studied by Dr. NEZİH FIRATLI. They consist of the following: two gold rings set with engraved carnelian stones, one depicting the goddess Athene, the other a seated woman playing a lyre; a golden earring with a spread-winged Nike figure; a gold bracelet with a granulated decoration of vine-branches and grapes, with a head of Dionysos on a circular medallion;

¹⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 159 f.; Written information kindly provided by Prof. H. METZGER.

²⁾ E. AKURGAL, *Belleten* 111, 573; MELLINK, 164.

and finally a large complex piece, composed of a gold medallion in the form of a "Herakles knot" terminating on each side with two lions' heads from the mouths of which gold chains are hanging, the latter having further gold chains in groups of three with small gold and red-agate pomegranates attached, the medallion itself having in its centre a lyre-playing Eros statuette. This last piece, at first thought to have been either a brooch or a buckle for a belt, is considered by Dr. FIRATLI to be more likely to have been a diadem to be worn on the lady's head with the chains braided into the coiffure. Though the objects do not all appear to have been made in the same period, the granulated decoration on the bracelet, earring and diadem is typically early Hellenistic, and comparison of the diadem with similar objects from both Greece and Southern Russia, belonging to the 3rd century B.C., have lead Dr. FIRATLI to conclude that the İzmit tomb most likely belonged to a rich or otherwise prominent lady of 3rd century B.C. Nicomedia ¹⁾).

35. *Tumulus at Karakoç and other tumuli in the vicinity* (Kırklareli)

Five kilometres north of Kırklareli, in the village of Karakoç, a damaged but not yet robbed tumulus was excavated by Dr. N. FIRATLI of the İstanbul Archaeological Museum. Its round tomb-chamber was roofed with a "false dome" (vaulted in slightly corbeled courses with beveled joints), and had a short dromos on the south side. Found inside the tomb were a bronze situla with female heads as handle-attachments, a bronze bowl, a bronze oinochoe with trefoil mouth, three gray terracotta omphalos-bowls made in imitation of metal, a fourth-century Greek lamp of terracotta, as well as the remains of various iron and wooden objects. Along with these was found a second terracotta lamp of local origin, which, combined with the evidence of the sherds in the earth heaped over the tomb-chamber, served as grounds for dating this tumulus to the 4th century B.C.

During the course of this excavation, an additional robbed tomb-chamber with an arched roof was found near to Kırklareli itself, while two additional tumuli were discovered in the Pınarhisar district some 32 kilometres to the east. The first of these, in the village of Akvıran, was similar in all respects to the excavated tumulus at Karakoç; the second, at Evciler village, proved to be a tumulus with a square tomb-chamber ²⁾).

36. *Sığacık* (Teos; İzmir)

On behalf of the University of Ankara and the Directorate-General of Anti-

¹⁾ N. FIRATLI, *İzmit'te bulunan mücevherat*, IAMY, no. 11-12 [1964], 109-111 (Turkish) and 212-214 (English); MELLINK, 164 f.

²⁾ N. FIRATLI, *op. cit.*, 108 f. (Turkish) and 211 f. (English), and Pl. XLI-XLII; MELLINK, 165.

quities, the excavation of ancient Teos which began in 1962 continued this year under the direction of Dr. Y. BOYSAL and Dr. B. ÖĞÜN.

Added to the findings of the previous season which had reached the levels of the Proto-Geometric Period, this year some beautiful Hellenistic architectural fragments in addition to specimens of Greek ceramics and Sub-geometric Period skyphoi and, in the lower levels, further Proto-Geometric wares were uncovered. The theatre building, moreover, was cleared, and a number of reliefs, statues, and inscriptions were brought to light. A sarcophagus of Clazomenian type was found in the necropolis to the west of the town ¹⁾.

37. *Miletus* (Aydın)

Under the auspices of the University of Münster (Westf.) and the direction of Dr. G. KLEINER, excavations were continued this year.

The investigations went on at the foot of the Kalabaktepe, in the so-called "Little Athene temple" (until now thought to have been built in the late 5th century B.C., but which this year's excavations proved to belong to the 7th century B.C.) and in the area between these two places.

Directly under the temple there was found a level of the Geometric Period, and beneath it, the burnt Late Mycenaean stratum containing a large Mycenaean house. A bronze shield on which is depicted the "tree of life" flanked by an eagle and a bull, and on its exergue a relief showing a lion and a bull in combat, was also found there.

In the central area, a Mycenaean fortification wall was uncovered. This wall was embedded in the Late Mycenaean burnt stratum. Among the finds in addition to the above-mentioned bronze shield belonging to the seventh century B.C., an Athene head from the sixth century B.C., a bird-figured bowl, a Late Mycenaean bowl, archaic statues and fragments of Mycenaean idols are worthy of mention ²⁾.

38. *Ephesus-Mycenaean Period* (İzmir)

One of the most important finds of the year in Anatolia, and an unexpected one under the circumstances, came about not as the result of the official archaeological excavations currently under way at the site, but as an accidental discovery. Workmen engaged in the preparation of a parking-lot, near the "Gate of Persecution" of the Byzantine and early Turkish citadel of Aya-soluk on the fringe of the modern town of Selçuk (which lies about three kilometres to the northeast of the great Hellenistic and Roman period site of Ephesus), having turned up a fine Mycenaean vase, the site was immediately investigated thoroughly by Archaeologist M. BARAN, director of the Ephesus

¹⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 163.

²⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 161 f.

Archaeological Museum. Mr. BARAN was able to establish that the vase belonged in fact to a Mycenaean period tomb which had been damaged in Byzantine times, and although the form of the tomb had been lost, and had become mixed with intrusive matter, remnants of the original human burial and a number of additional fine pieces of Mycenaean wares of assorted types were recovered ¹⁾.

This find raises the necessity of reexamining anew the entire picture of the topography of Ephesus in order to find the location of the Mycenaean period settlement, and gives hope to the proponents of the theory that Apasas, one of the most important coastal cities of the kingdom of Arzawa in Hittite times, might have been at the site later known as Ephesus. [For the report on the archaeological activity pertaining to the Roman and Byzantine periods at Ephesus, see section 47 below.]

39. *Nemrud Dağ* (Adıyaman)

On behalf of the American Schools of Oriental Research and under the direction of Dr. Th. GOELL, an expedition resumed work at Nemrud Dağ, and geophysical studies were made aiming at finding the tomb-chamber within the tumulus of Antiochus I of Commagene.

Several trenches had been dug between the years 1953 and 1956 in search of the dromos without result. The expedition found great interest in the methods recently developed by Dr. LERICI and decided to apply them at Nemrud Dağ.

The research committee of the National Geographic Society (U.S.A.) agreed to sponsor a survey of an experimental nature on Nemrud Dağ and were represented at the dig by Mr. DAVID S. BOYER, while Dr. LERICI and the Fondazione Lerici of Rome and Milan sent two experts (an electronic engineer and a geologist), and the staff was completed with an expert mining-dynamite engineer and an architect-surveyor. Unfortunately the strong winds proved to be an obstacle to the use of both electrical and seismic techniques for determining the location of either the tomb-chamber or its entrance-passage, but the results obtained were still promising and the calculations are being made in the *Fondazione Lerici of the Politecnico di Milano*. The expedition indicated that it would continue further work at the site during the following season ²⁾.

40. *Eski Kâhta* (Adıyaman)

Investigations were made under the auspices the University of Münster (Westf.) and the direction of Dr. F. K. DÖRNER.

Work was undertaken at two places on the top of the old citadel and in front of the caves, and the remains previously found were restored. The investi-

¹⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, pp. 157 f. with Pl. 50, figs. 10-13.

²⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 165 f.

gations took place between the old citadel and Alot, and southwest of the village of Eski Kâhta, at sites named Kaditepe and Mozaik-tarla; and also to the south of Eski Kâhta village at the spot named Demir-tarla ¹⁾).

41. Çavdar Hisar (Kütahya)

The site of ancient Aezani, on the river Rhyndakos (modern Koca Su), at Çavdar Hisar has been known since 1824, when an inscription naming the city was found there by the Earl of ASHBURNHAM. A German expedition began excavations in 1926 at the site under the direction of Dr. M. SCHEDE, but work terminated due to the untimely death of the latter.

This year work was done on clearing away of debris, and some restoration of the architectural remains, under the auspices of the Turkish Directorate-General of Antiquities; it was carried out under the supervision of that authority's official architect, Dr. M. AKOK, in collaboration with Dr. N. FIRATLI of the İstanbul Archaeological Museum, and in consultation with Dr. R. NAUMANN, director of the German Archaeological Institute in İstanbul, who is himself engaged in preparing the uncompleted excavation-report of the late Dr. SCHEDE for publication.

It has been well-known for some time that the excellently-preserved temple at Aezani had been dedicated to the god Zeus, but the presence of a sculptured relief showing the god Zeus together with an unidentified goddess, as well as a number of architectural resemblances to the dual sanctuary of the Temple of Augustus and Roma at Ankara, have lead Prof. NAUMANN to deduce that the temple at Aezani was similarly dedicated to a pair of deities, in this case Zeus and a goddess who, in view of the presence of subterranean chambers beneath the sanctuary itself, Dr. NAUMANN suspects, was the mother-goddess Cybele ²⁾).

42. Side (Antalya)

The excavations, undertaken on behalf of the Turkish Historical Society, the Directorate-General of Antiquities, and the University of İstanbul, continued under the direction of Dr. A. M. MANSEL, and the main work was concentrated on the great Baths at the south end of the peninsula. The expedition tried to locate the intercommunication between the two halls (*palaestra* and *apodyterium*) which had been cleared during the previous seasons, as well as the other sections and the communication of these sections with each other. The greater part of those sections had been provided with a *hypocaust* system by means of which they had been heated.

¹⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; F. K. DÖRNER, *Zusammenfassender Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Arsameia 1963*, TAD XII, 2 (1963) [1965], 24-33.

²⁾ From the lecture delivered by Prof. R. NAUMANN on the occasion of the "Winckelmann's Tag" (İstanbul, December 9, 1963); İAMY, no. 11-12 [1964], 17 (Turkish) and 134 (English).

It was established that a hall containing a large pool and covered with a monumental vault constituted the *caldarium* of the bath. At the south end of the building above the furnace area, were found water-tanks and the places for the copper cauldrons in which water had been heated. In addition, a second hall containing a pool, and being probably the *frigidarium* of the baths, was found.

While preparing the plan and drawings of the Western Mausoleum there were found a number of architectural fragments in the newly dug trenches. At the same time a fragment of acroterium was discovered in the *Propylaeum*, and on the floor of the rear-rooms mosaic were found. The results of the study of the building "M" afforded the possibility for partly restoring the two-storied colonnade of the big hall ¹⁾).

43. Aphrodisias (Aydın)

On behalf of New York University and with Dr. K. ERİM as field-director, the work continued this year too.

In the Odeion discovered in 1962, the western half of the *cavea*, the backstage corridor, a portion of the *porticus post scaenam*, and the *parodoi* were excavated.

The researches of Dr. ERİM indicated the existence of a now missing *summa cavea* supported upon four chambers behind the preserved *cavea*. This part of the building had been destroyed by an earthquake, and when the Odeion was later restored, its plan was changed. The mosaics of the orchestra floor show clearly patchy restoration work. Similar patchwork repairs are also to be seen on the *pulpitum* of the *scaena*. In the pit of the orchestra several statues were brought to light. An inscription belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D. indicates that the building was still in use during that period, but the date of its original erection was probably during the second century A.D.

To the southwest of the Aphrodite Temple, investigations brought to light a Byzantine complex built during the fourth or fifth century A.D. and used until the twelfth century. A seal found in one of the porticos, bearing the inscription "Metropolis of Caria", *i.e.*, Aphrodisias, may imply that the residence or palace of the Archbishop (or Metropolitan) of Caria was located in that area.

The so-called Propylon was excavated and partially restored. Among the finds were many architectural and sculptural fragments.

A trial sounding made in the nave of the Temple-Basilica of Aphrodite led to the discovery of Hellenistic remains and of sherds from the 6th century B.C.

In the northeastern part of the fortification system of the city, a postern-gate and an underground gallery running under the city-wall were discovered.

¹⁾ A. M. MANSEL, *Belleten* III, 572 f.; MELLINK, 160.

The exploration of an underground vaulted chamber-tomb complex of late Roman date, in the western necropolis of Aphrodisias, produced over 140 terracotta lamps, pottery and glass-ware ¹⁾.

44. *Hierapolis* (Denizli)

An expedition on behalf of the University of Turin, and under the direction of Dr. P. VERZONE, did restoration work and made excavations at the Theatre, Necropolis, Martyrium, City-gate, Basilica, the columned Church, and the Temple alongside the Nymphaeum ²⁾.

45. *Pergamum* (İzmir)

Under the auspices of the German Oriental Society and directed by Dr. E. BOEHRINGER, an expedition made excavations during the spring and the autumn of 1963.

In spring, a sondage was effectuated near the expedition-house, and during the restoration works in the Demeter Temple and the Lower Agora, three bronze and one marble statues were found. At the Asclepieum, leading from the gate in the direction of Virankapı, a three-sectioned street was cleared.

During the autumn season, the expedition-staff was busy drawing plans, taking photographs, as well as doing storage work and making topographical studies ³⁾.

46. *Tepemezarlığı at Akhisar* (Thyateira; Manisa)

Under the auspices of the Directorate-General of Antiquities, an expedition conducted by Dr. Y. BOYSAL of the University of Ankara made excavations and cleared some architectural remains belonging to the classical city of Thyateira ⁴⁾.

47. *Ephesus-Roman and Byzantine period* (İzmir)

Restoration activities continued during the summer months of 1963 on behalf of the Austrian Archaeological Institute under the general direction of Dr. W. ALZINGER, and under the supervision of Dr. F. EICHLER, in the area of the Byzantine period Church of St. John on the edge of the modern town of Selçuk. In a building opposite the Temple of Hadrian, in a room on the fourth

¹⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 160 f. and Pl. 51; KENAN T. ERİM, *Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria in South-West Turkey*. Pt. I: *The Temple and the Odeion*; Pt. II: *Buildings and still more statuary*. ILN Vol. 243, no. 6490-1 [Dec. 21-28, 1963], 1028-31, 1066-1069.

²⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information.

³⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information.

⁴⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information.

floor, wall-paintings covered with several layers of stucco were laid bare. On either side of a niche containing a statue of Artemis were panels containing frescoes representing Klio and Socrates respectively. Klio, the Muse of History, is shown standing and holding a book, while Socrates, who appears seated upon a bench, is identified by the inscription ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ above his head. The excavators dated these paintings to the first century A.D.

During the autumn months, the Aegean Tourism Commission of İzmir (which had approved a decision to engage in improvement and landscaping activities in Ephesus) began work in the area of the St. John's Church. Under the direction of archaeologists M. BARAN (director of the Ephesus Archaeological Museum) and A. DÖNMEZ, the group removed the 'dump' left by the Austrian Expedition of the years 1927-1935 in the area between the church and the "Gate of Persecution" on the citadel. In addition, the sector in front of the south side of the church as well as an area of previously condemned private dwellings were cleared and leveled, the grave area was fenced in, and both the roof of the frescoed chapel and the church itself were provided with various reinforcements. ¹⁾ [For finds in the immediate vicinity of the Byzantine citadel area related to the Mycenaean period settlement at Ephesus, see section 38 above.]

48. *Site Hüyük* (Antakya)

In the course of construction of the new vegetable market within the city, remains of early foundations were brought to light, and were examined by a group of experts under the supervision of Miss S. KESKİL, Director of the Antakya Museum.

Building remains, skeletons, two coins from the period of Justinian and Theodora, spear-points, pieces of mosaic and sculptures, Byzantine lamps, ceramics, and Islamic coins were found ²⁾.

49. *Sardis* (Manisa)

Under the sponsorship of the American Schools of Oriental Research, the sixth successive season of excavations at Sardis were carried out by Cornell and Harvard Universities jointly, with the added participation of the Corning Museum of Glass, and with additional financial support from the Bollingen Foundation as well as a grant of educational funds from the U.S. State Department for the training of Turkish students; once again the work was

¹⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 163; H. VETTERS, *Where St. Paul "fought with beasts": Continuing excavations at Ephesus*. Part I. *Roman apartment-houses uncovered*. Part II. *Frescoes and statuary Buildings public and private recently discovered in ancient Ephesus*. ILN Vol. 244 no. 6511-6512 [May 16-23, 1964], 766-768, 822-825.

²⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information.

under the general direction of Dr. G. M. A. HANFMANN of Harvard University's Fogg Museum and Dr. A. H. DETWEILER of Cornell University, with the assistant-directorship of Dr. D. G. MITTEN of Harvard University.

In the sector "Pactolus North", the clearing of the early Islamic, Byzantine and Roman period settlements was continued in the area adjoining that explored in previous seasons. In addition to the important find of a fragment of an early Second Millennium B.C. "Hittite" red-burnished tubular-spouted vessel which had been built into an early Islamic house-wall, a large building of the early Byzantine period into which had been incorporated several earlier Roman period structures—including the marble steps and base of an apparently vaulted tomb from the turn of the Christian era—were explored and cleared. Finds in this funerary precinct included five Roman sarcophagi with their intact burials and grave-gifts. Adjacent to this newly-excavated area, the previously cleared area was now cleared down to the Persian period levels.

Just south of the "Pactolus North" sector, work was continued on the small 12th century A.D. Byzantine church known as "Building E" (discovered but not identified during the 1910-1914 excavations), which was completely cleared and studied this year by Dr. DETWEILER.

In the sector designated "Lydian Trench", the areas previously cleared were expanded both vertically and horizontally, and numerous Lydian structures of the 6th century B.C. were uncovered, beneath which at a number of points floors belonging to the early 7th century B.C. were brought to light. In this sector a rich harvest of Lydian painted terracotta statuettes and finely-decorated pottery, Lydian as well as Greek of both of these periods were found, many intact or mendable; the most spectacular pieces were a statuette of a bearded man, and a late 7th century B.C. Lydian bichrome *deinos* with two friezes of proudly marching lions, deer and goats. (A deep sounding during the 1961 and 1962 seasons in this area had actually reached Late Bronze Age levels.)

In the area of "Gymnasium B", clearing of the "Marble Court", the Severan entrance-court (dated by its inscription to A.D. 211/212) of the main Gymnasium building (which is dated to before A.D. 165/166 by its dedication to Lucius Verus), was completed and tentative plans made for its restoration. Further excavation was conducted in the adjacent Roman period Jewish Synagogue discovered in 1962, which proved to be much larger than had been suspected; behind the originally colonnaded porch was a forecourt 22 × 18 metres in extent, entering through three monumental doorways to a huge main hall measuring 59.65 × 18 metres, at the west end of which was a broad apse 12 metres wide and 5.50 metres deep. In the apse a colourful mosaic depicting a *krater* between two damaged peacocks, surmounted by a wreath containing

a dedicatory inscription, was cleared; the inscription was dated by Dr. LOUIS ROBERT of Paris to the 4th century A.D. The walls of the great main hall of the Synagogue were found to have incorporated much material re-used from constructions of several earlier periods. Aside from the decorative architectural fragments, the masonry of the great piers along the two side walls included the following important older materials: (a) a broken orthostat with a thirteen-line inscription in an archaic alphabet at first thought to be Lydian, but which is possibly in a previously unknown language; (b) four finely-dressed marble blocks bearing long texts in Greek (two of these contain a letter from Antiochus III to the citizens of Sardis dated to 213 B.C., the third describes honours to one Heliodoros son of Diodoros, and the fourth is an order that a letter from Queen Laodike, wife of Antiochus III, be inscribed on the *antae* of the Metroön, the temple of Kybebe, Mother of the Gods, the patron-goddess of Sardis); (c) the lower half of a small *kore* in the round (datable to ca. 600 B.C.); and (d) a large marble block in the form of a miniature columned temple, with a goddess in typical Ionic dress standing in high-relief between flanking serpents in the front porch, with low-reliefs of marching *korai*, crouching lions, and satyrs or komasts holding drinking-cups, in panels between fluted columns on the sides, and six further panels depicting separate mythological scenes on the back. These sculptures reveal a school of sculptors flourishing in Sardis in the early 6th century B.C., with a highly individual style though strongly influenced by the Ionian schools of Samos and Miletus. Inside the Synagogue's main hall, centred in front of the apse, was found a monumental marble table, its upright supports decorated with high-relief eagles clutching thunderbolts. Two pairs of almost life-size marble lions seated back-to-back seem to have been re-used in the Synagogue as "guardian-animals" on either side of the reading-table. Their date is still to be determined: Dr. HANFMANN regards them as 6th century B.C. or slightly later, while Dr. MITTEN favours a 4th century B.C. date for them. Besides these, many new marble plaques with dedications to the Synagogue itself were brought to light this year, in addition to representations of the *menorah*-symbol in bronze, and fragments of a highly-decorative one in marble.

Excavations were begun at the royal cemetery known as Bin Tepe, north of Sardis on the opposite bank of the Gediz (Hermos) River. Hopes of discovering either the tomb-chamber or the entrance-passage of the Karniyarık Tepe (thought to be the tumulus of Gyges) failed to materialize, though the preliminary excavations were supplemented by both geophysical tests and the use of the same water-cooled drill apparatus as had been used with success on the great tumulus at Gordion.

A smaller tumulus close by, which strangely enough had no dromos, was investigated. Though its tiny tomb-chamber 1.35 × 2.87 metres in size, with

floor and ceilings of roughly-dressed limestone slabs and walls of ashlar masonry, had already been robbed, many fragments of a wooden funerary couch, small iron plates, fragments of a waveline hydria, a streaked skyphos, and two squat lekythoi had fortunately been left behind ¹⁾).

50. *Underwater Archaeology* (Yassiada; Muğla)

Under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania and directed by Dr. G. F. BASS, an expedition continued its earlier work and brought to light the fragments of a Byzantine shipwreck and tried to restore it. The dating of the wreck was made with the help of 35 copper and 6 gold coins found in the wreck. Among the finds are heavy anchors, two terracotta vessels, and Byzantine lamps. For the drawing of plans under water, a new method of photogrammetry based upon stereophotography was applied ²⁾).

51. *The Monastery at Eski Gümüş* (Niğde)

The excavations at the Monastery of Eski Gümüş were sponsored by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara with the grants from the Russell Trust in 1962 and 1963 under the direction of Mr. M. GOUGH (Director of the Institute).

Eski Gümüş (now united with another adjoining village to form the small town of Gümüşler) lies about seven kilometres north-east of Niğde, in the immediate vicinity of Andaval, the ancient Andabilis. This monastery hewn from the rock was first noticed by European travellers in the 19th century, and H. GRÉGOIRE was the first scholar who dealt with it briefly.

In 1961 Mr. A. A. TÜTENK, history teacher at the Lycée of Niğde, made known his discovery of numerous previously unnoticed paintings in the monastery, as a result of which Mr. GOUGH's expedition undertook at the spot two seasons' work (1962, 1963). Its plan was drawn and the frescoes were cleaned.

An entrance passage with a length of 7 metres leads into the Monastery's courtyard. At the northwest side of the nearly square courtyard, the rock was made to look like a Church-façade resembling the ones in Göreme (near Ürgüp) and the Peristrema valley (south-east of Aksaray). The rock-hewn church comprises an exo-narthex, a narthex and the church itself. The level of the church is lower than the courtyard. Inside the narthex and the church proper,

¹⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information. MELLINK, 163 f.; G. M. A. HANFMANN, *Surprising discoveries from the Sardis Synagogue: Outstanding Lydian and archaic sculptures*, Part I; *id.* *Sardis Excavations*, Part II. ILN vol. 244, no. 6502-6503, [March 14-21, 1964], 388-389, 432-434; *id.* *The Sixth Campaign at Sardis* (1963), BASOR 174 [1964], 3-58; A. H. DETWEILER and D. G. MITTEN, *The Sixth Campaign at Sardis*, 1963, TAD XII, 2 (1963) [1965], 8-23.

²⁾ E.M.U.M.'s information; MELLINK, 161; G. F. BASS, AnSt 14 [1964] 28 f.

the rock-wall surfaces were covered with plaster, and on them were depicted interesting religious frescoes, in a style quite different from the frescoes in other parts of Cappadocia. Mr. GOUGH dated some of them to the 11th century and others to the 12th century ¹⁾).

52. *Alahan Monastery* (Mersin)

On behalf of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and the Russell Trust, the third season's excavations at Alahan in Isauria were conducted under the direction of Mr. M. GOUGH. In 1962 the Western Basilica (the Church of the Evangelists) and the central Baptistery were cleared.

In 1963 the work was concentrated on the *narthex* of the Eastern Church (Hoca Kalesi), the central apse and the nave of the same church. Then the area to the west of the *narthex*, and the building to the west of the Baptistery were also excavated. The clearing of the *narthex* has proved that its original elevation is still problematic. The building remains brought to light in the sector west of the *narthex* indicate that this had once been a construction possessing two storeys. According to the finds it appears that the ground floor could have been a kitchen, and the upper floor a refectory.

Small rectangular rooms were cleared to the west of the Baptistery; these may well have been a portion of the hospice of the Monastery. At the Baptistery and at the Western Basilica (Church of the Evangelists), two architectural phases could be established.

Seventeen coins contribute to the dating of the Monastery. The earliest one is that of Florian (3rd century A.D.), while the latest ones are of Justin II (565-578 A.D.). Fine examples of Late Roman pottery as well as ceramics from the 5th century A.D. were also discovered ²⁾).

53. *Archaeological finds in the City of İstanbul* (İstanbul)

In the course of construction activities at various points within the city and in the immediate vicinity of İstanbul, the following antiquities were discovered and registered by the İstanbul Archaeological Museum.

A. During the course of foundation-excavations for the construction of a large new building opposite the Burnt Column of Constantine or *Çemberlitaş* in the early part of 1963, there were brought to light the foundations of a large Ottoman building of the 16th-17th centuries, beneath this various

¹⁾ Cf. M. GOUGH, AnSt 14 [1964], 8 f. (Annual Report); *id.*, *The Monastery of Eski Gümüş; a Preliminary Report*, *op. cit.*, 147-161; *id.*, *Eski Gümüş: An outstanding discovery of Byzantine frescoes: The Rock-cut Church of Eski Gümüş, Central Anatolia*, ILN, vol. 244, no. 6493 [January 11, 1964], 50-53; *id.* TAD XII, 2 [1963], 37-42; E.M.U.M.'s information.

²⁾ Cf. M. GOUGH, AnSt 14, [1964], 6-8 (Annual Report), and *id.* *Excavations et Alahan: Third Preliminary Report; op. cit.*, 185-190; E.M.U.M.'s information.

remains of walls of the Byzantine period, and then at a depth of 2.15 metres below the present ground-level, parts of a great pavement made of large blocks of black-limestone, similar to and at the same depth below the surface as those sections of the *Forum of Constantine* which had been encountered in the area to the north of the Burnt Column at the time of the construction of the modern sewer-system as well as in VETT's 1929 sondages at the base of the column itself. Just as in these earlier excavations, which had discovered the necropolis of the Greek and early Roman city of Byzantium just beneath the level of the Constantine forum-pavement, the current excavation turned up similar remains of the old necropolis down to virgin-soil. Apart from numerous grave-stelae, simple brick tombs and simple sarcophagi made of limestone slabs, in addition to a hypogeum structure, there were found an ossuary carved from a single limestone block and containing along with charred human bones four undecorated gold diadems, a silver ink-pot and a partly damaged silver vase-stand, the lid of a second ossuary with acroteria, and three early Roman period sarcophagi (two of them undamaged, the third broken, but all still containing their grave-gifts, which included Byzantium municipal coins of the early Roman Imperial period, lamps, glassware, ceramics, terra cotta figurines, necklaces, and other small objects, as well as the skeletons of the dead). In addition there were brought to light a well-preserved fine life-size portrait-head bearing a great resemblance to the Emperor Tiberius, but which may represent some other personage of his period, in addition to a number of statue fragments which had been used as building-blocks in a later period, among which a marble dolphin and a bust of the goddess Artemis are worthy of note ¹).

B. In the second court of *Topkapı Palace* where a number of discoveries were made some years ago, this year a statue-pedestal, with sculptured reliefs in two and three registers on all four sides, honouring the chariot racer Porphyrios, was found. One face of the pedestal is rather damaged, but the remaining three are in a good state of preservation and the inscription on it was read. Among the other finds were architectural fragments including a colossal capital of a column. They are all dated to the Early Byzantine period ²).

C. At the time of the construction of the new pedestrian-underpass at *Çarşıkapı*, in addition to the chance find of a fragmentary statue and some parapet-plates, there were uncovered wall-remains (possibly belonging to the shops along the famous Mese Street), as well as a large brick pier mounted

¹ N. FIRATLI, *Çemberlitaş civarından buluntular*, IAMY, no. 11-12 [1964], 104-106 (Turkish), 207-209 (English); A. N. ROLLAS, *Les figurines en terre cuite d'Istanbul*, *op. cit.*, 52 and 55 f. (Turkish) and 165 and 168 f., nos. 6619-6621 (French).

² N. FIRATLI and ANDRÉE N. ROLLAS, *op. cit.*, 96-103 (Turkish), 199-206 (French), and Pl. XXV-XXXIV.

with a wide marble sill. Most interesting was the discovery still in situ of two parallel water-pipelines in marble, belonging to the ancient water-distribution system, and beneath these, the still intact brick sewer-system which had extended underneath the street. The water-pipes had been roughly carved-out from marble blocks, although some had been made from capitals, and even from inscribed stones belonging to the second century A.D. ¹).

D. During the digging of the vehicular-underpass at *Unkapamı*, the statue of a man from the Roman period, as well as a tombstone dedicated to a lady named Lollia Salbia, were brought to light ²).

E. *Between Yakacık and Kartal* (in the outer suburbs of İstanbul) "treasure-seekers" discovered a previously unknown ruined *Byzantine church*, which was thereupon investigated by Dr. N. FIRATLI of the İstanbul Archaeological Museum. The mosaic pavements were at the same time studied by Dr. S. EYİCE of İstanbul University. The triple-naved and triple-apsed structure, with a central dome supported upon four pillars, had a ground-plan as well as built-in wall-decorations in the three apses exactly like those of the North Chapel of the Fenârî İsa Mosque (originally the Theotokos Church of the Monastery of Constantine-Lips) in İstanbul, which was built in the 9th century A.D. On the basis of these similarities, a probable date of the 8th or 9th century has been proposed for the construction of the newly-discovered church, although to be sure a number of architectural fragments datable to the 6th century A.D. appear to have been secondarily reused in this building ³).

54. *İznik-Mediaeval* (Nicaea: Bursa)

On behalf of the University of İstanbul and under the direction of Dr. O. ASLANAPA, excavations were conducted at the site of the completely ruined Orhan İmaret Mosque and the Hamam (hot-bath), as well as at the site of the mediaeval İznik Ceramic Ovens.

A. The Orhan İmaret Mosque, located outside the old walled city at about 400 metres from the Yenîşehir Gate, is assumed to have been built during the time of the siege of Byzantine-ruled Nicaea by Sultan Orhan, the second Ottoman Sultan. The mosque seems to have been the earliest one constructed on a ground-plan in the form of an inverted T, which is typical of the older Osmanlı foundations. Although the plan of the structure could be easily determined, it was not possible to discover either the location or size of the minaret which had undoubtedly once existed. Moreover there was no trace remaining of the

¹ N. FIRATLI, *op. cit.*, 106 f. (Turkish), 209 f. (English).

² *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 107 (Turkish), 210 (English).

³ *Id.*, *Yakacık ile Kartal arasında bulunan kilise kalıntısı*, *op. cit.*, 107 (Turkish), 210 f. (English); S. EYİCE, *Two Mosaic Pavements from Bithynia*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 [1963], 378 and fig. 16; A. MEGAW, *ibidem*, 334; S. EYİCE, *Son devir Bizans Mimarisini, İstanbul'da Palaiologoslar devri Anıtları* [İstanbul, 1963], 11 and fig. 14.

mihrab, the location of which was clear. The outer portico had six assorted columns, clearly brought from older structures. Some ten fragments of the inscription, which had originally stood inside the portico above the entrance, were found and, upon being pieced together, the greater part of the inscription could be read. The date of the inscription is unfortunately broken at a crucial point, the final number "5" being all that is preserved of the year, allowing its restoration to be either A.H. 725 (=1325 A.D.) or A.H. 735 (=1335 A.D.); however, because of the founder's title being given as "Sultan Orhan bin Osman", the excavator has decided for the later of the two possible dates ¹⁾.

B. Since the city of İznik was important throughout the Ottoman period for its fine tiles and ceramics, the expedition was fortunate in discovering an early oven which for some reason or other had never been emptied out. It contained a type of ceramics made from a red clay, and known as "Miletus-ware", hitherto not known to have been used by the Ottoman craftsmen, and which the excavator, Dr. O. ASLANAPA, believes must be dated to the end of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century, being therefore the predecessor of the hard-baked porcelain made from white clay which was in fashion throughout most of the Ottoman period ²⁾.

55. *Excavations at Keykubadiye (Kayseri)*

Excavations at the site of Keykûbadiye, which lies about 20 km. to the northwest of Kayseri, were undertaken by an expedition under the direction of Dr. O. ASLANAPA on behalf of the University of İstanbul. Here were found three hunting-kiosks of Alaeddin Keykubat I (1219-1237), the Seljukid Sultan. In these kiosks, specimens of fine tiles were brought to light ³⁾.

56. *Exploration activities of the members of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*

a. Mr. D. WINFIELD began an intensive survey of Byzantine and other monuments in Eastern Turkey and in the Trabzon area.

b. Dr. R. THOMSON, from Harvard University (U.S.A.), travelled in Cilicia and recorded the mediaeval material.

c. Mrs. J. M. BIRMINGHAM, from the University of Sydney (Australia), traveled in the Burdur, Denizli and Antalya regions, and recorded many new sites, but she has studied only the Iron Age material in detail.

d. Mr. and Mrs. D. BIERNOFF made a survey in the district of Muğla and found a number of prehistoric settlements.

¹⁾ For the seasons 1963 and 1964, cf. O. ASLANAPA, *Die Ausgrabungen der Sultan Orhan İmareti-Moschee von İznik*, *Kunsthistorische Forschungen I* (Universität İstanbul-Kunsthistorisches Institut) [İstanbul 1964], 32-38 (German), 16-31 (Turkish).

²⁾ From oral information kindly given by Dr. O. ASLANAPA.

³⁾ From oral information kindly given by Dr. O. ASLANAPA.

e. Mr. R. HARPER, from the University of Durham, made an epigraphic survey in Cappadocia.

f. Mr. R. M. HARRISON, from the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, traveled in Isauria, Cilicia, and intensively in Lycia, and studied the early Christian mouldings.

g. Dr. E. ROSENBAUM traveled in Southern Turkey and studied the Roman cemeteries at Balabolu, Eski Anamur, Iotape, and Antiochia-ad-Cragum.

h. Mr. TIMOTHY B. MITFORD, Jr., and his wife made a survey of the eastern *limes* of the Roman Empire; during this survey, they recorded as well a number of new pre-classical sites in the area of Elazığ.

i. Mr. D. BLACKMAN and his wife traveled along the Aegean and Black Sea coasts, and studied ancient harbour sites ¹⁾.

57. *İznik Gölü-Underwater Archaeology (Bursa)*

In September 1963, upon receipt of information from Turkish Navy "frog-men" trainees that ancient remains had been discovered beneath the water of İznik Gölü (ancient Ascania Lake by the city of Nicaea), the İstanbul Archaeological Museum dispatched its Under-Water Investigations Assistant, Mr. Y. EĞDEMİR, to the scene to join himself in the diving activity at the spot, using the "frog-men" as his archaeological staff. As a result, at a point twenty metres from the shore of the eastern end of the lake, and at a depth of five metres below the surface of the waters, there were found two Roman period sarcophagi, and several ordinary terra cotta tile tombs, in addition to the remains of a double-chambered tomb-building, as well as remnants of walls and broken columns. Since this unusual find undoubtedly represents part of the Roman period necropolis of the city of Nicaea, it became immediately evident that not only the shoreline of the lake but the tilt of the topography of the area in general must have changed radically since Roman times, due to seismic activity along what is even today the most active fault-line in this part of the Near East ²⁾.

58. *Çamlık or Belenalan (Balıkesir)*

In July 1963 a shepherd chanced to find a major hoard of classical coins on a hill known as either Çamlık or Belenalan, three kilometres north of Yeşilhisar village in the district of Savaştepe (formerly Giresun) in the vilayet of Balıkesir. The find consisted of an ordinary Hellenistic pot containing 104 cistophoric tetradrachms, of which 100 were fortunately turned over to the İstanbul Archaeological Museum, where they were studied by numismatist Miss N.

¹⁾ Cf. AnSt 14 [1964], 10-13 and 29-37.

²⁾ Y. EĞDEMİR, *Su Altı Arkeolojisi ve Yurdumuzdaki Araştırmalara Dair Notlar*, İAMY no. 11-12 [1964], 233 (Turkish only).

OLCAY. The silver coins were all found to be unusually clean and well-preserved, without any trace of oxidization. From the mint-monograms, these cistophoroi were seen to belong to six different cities: 37 from Pergamon, 33 from Ephesus, 19 from Tralles, 8 from Apameia, 2 from Sardis, and one from Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos. Eighty-two of the 100 cistophoroi have been dated both on the basis of their diameters and their weights to the period of the independent kingdom of Pergamon before 133 B.C. The remaining eighteen (8 from Pergamon, 9 of those from Ephesus, and one from Tralles) belong to the period after that date, when the entire area became the Roman Province of Asia; all nine of this group of cistophoroi from Ephesus actually being dated with years according to the Era of the Province of Asia, and ranging from 131 B.C. to 69 B.C. In addition, one of eight post-133 B.C. cistophoroi from the city of Pergamon, though not inscribed with a year-date, has on it the name of "Lucius Antonius, quaestor", whose term of duty in the Province of Asia is known to have been limited to 50-49 B.C., so that this one coin is in fact the latest datable coin in the lot, providing a *terminus post quem* for the actual burial of the hoard ¹⁾.

İstanbul

HANDAN ALKIM

¹⁾ N. OLCAY, *Yeni bir kistofor definesi*, İAMY no. 11-12 [1964] 58-64 (Turkish) and 171-177 (English).

WAREN DER AUFSTAND DES ARISTONICUS UND DIE MITHRADATISCHEN KRIEGE KLASSENKÄMPFE?

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die Gegenstände historischer Untersuchungen häufig durch das Interesse des Forschers für die Verhältnisse und Erscheinungen seiner eigenen Zeit mitbedingt werden ¹⁾. Ein zutreffendes Beispiel dafür ist die Sammlung *Sozialökonomische Verhältnisse im Alten Orient und im Klassischen Altertum* die unter Leitung von RIGOBERT GÜNTHER und GERHART SCHROT vor einigen Jahren ins Licht gegeben wurde ²⁾. In dieser Sammlung sind die Vorträge, die auf der ersten internationalen Tagung der Sektion Alte Geschichte der Deutschen Historiker-Gesellschaft 1959 veranstaltet sind, aufgenommen.

In vielen dieser Vorträge wird versucht die Alte Geschichte vom Standpunkt des Marxismus-Leninismus zu betrachten, wobei die Klassenkämpfe eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Einer der Autoren, RIGOBERT GÜNTHER, geht in seinem übrigens sehr lesenswerten Beitrag *Der Klassencharakter der sozialen Utopie im 2. und 1. Jh. v. u. Z.* so weit, dass er die mithradatischen Kriege zu den Klassenkämpfen rechnet ³⁾, eine Behauptung, die ich einer näheren Forschung unterwerfen möchte.

Um Begriffsverwirrung zuvorkommen, soll vor allem bestimmt werden was man unter Klassenkämpfen im marxistischen Sinne zu verstehen hat.

Für KARL MARX war die Lehre des Klassenkampfes ein integrierender Teil seiner gesellschaftlichen dialektischen Entwicklungstheorie, die aus seiner wirtschaftlichen Geschichtsbetrachtung (historischer Materialismus) hervorgeht. In dem Gegensatz von den Interessen der verschiedenen Klassen sah er eine notwendige Bedingung für gesellschaftliche Fortschritte. In seiner Zeit mit ihren aufkommenden Industrialisation und Kapitalismus wurde dieser Kampf zwischen den besitzenden Klassen als Vertretern des Kapitalismus und dem Proletariat geführt, bei dem zunächst an die Industriearbeiter gedacht wurde ⁴⁾. Wenn dieser Kampf beendet sein würde, dann würde, in einer zu gründenden sozialistischen Gesellschaft der ganzen Menschheit das grösste Glück zuteil werden. Für Klassenkämpfe würde dann aus Mangel an Klassen

¹⁾ H. BOLKESTEIN, *Sociale politiek en sociale opstandigheid in de Oudheid*. Amsterdam, 1934, S. 5. Vgl. J. H. THIEL, *De Oude Geschiedenis en de Archaeologie*. Amsterdam, 1946, S. 16.

²⁾ Berlin, 1961. Vgl. auch BiOr XXI (1964), S. 292.

³⁾ S. 97.

⁴⁾ KARL MARX, *Das Kapital*³. Hamburg, 1883; F. ENGELS und K. MARX, *Das Kommunistische Manifest*. London, 1848. Der Name „Kommunistisch“ wurde gewählt weil die Verfasser mit den Lehren derjenigen, die sich in England, Frankreich und Deutschland Sozialisten nannten, nicht einverstanden waren (vgl. die Aufl. von 1906, S. 23).

kein Platz mehr sein. In der sozialistischen Gesellschaft würden die Produktionsmittel gemeinschaftliches Eigentum sein, deren Ertrag allen validen Bürgern, dem Werte ihrer gesellschaftlichen Arbeit gemäss, zur Verfügung gestellt würde.

Das Streben von KARL MARX und seinen Anhängern, die sich Sozial Demokraten nannten, war also auf eine prinzipielle Reform der gesellschaftlichen Struktur gerichtet um das Los der Arbeiter, namentlich des industriellen Proletariats, zu verbessern. Als eines der wichtigsten Mittel zur Erreichung dieses Zieles wurde das allgemeine Wahlrecht betrachtet.

Aus dem Marxismus entwickelte sich der Kommunismus, der alles Eigentum gemeinschaftlich ohne Unterschied zwischen Produktionsmitteln und Verbrauchs- oder Gebrauchsgütern sehen will.

Der Leninismus ist gewissermassen eine revisionistische Fortsetzung des Marxismus im autoritären Sinne. Nur mittels einer selektiven, straff disziplinierten Kaderpartei von Berufsrevolutionären könnte das Proletariat zu Revolution gebracht werden.

Nach dieser kurzen und ihrer Natur gemäss mangelhaften Darlegung ¹⁾ lenken wir jetzt unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die sozial-wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse im pergamenischen Reiche.

Im Jahre 133 hinterliess der König von Pergamum Attalus III aus Mangel an legitimen männlichen Nachkommen dem römischen Volke testamentarisch sein Reich. Nach seinen Bewegungsgründen kann man nur raten. M. ROSTOVZEFF meint, dass er der starken sozialen Spannungen wegen, die damals in seinem Reiche herrschten, dazu gebracht worden ist ²⁾. THIEL glaubt, dass diese Tat ganz in das Fach eines Mannes schlage, der mit seinen Vorgängern zu den dienstfertigen Vasallen der Römer gehört hatte und diese in das griechische Osten eingeholt hatte ³⁾. Vermutlich auch sah der König infolge der friedliebenden Infiltration vieler mächtiger römischer *negotiatores* keinen anderen Ausweg ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Vgl. auch den lesenswerten Aufsatz von H. J. POS, *Karl Marx*, in *Keur uit de verspreide geschriften* II. Arnhem-Assen, 1958, S. 166 flg. Weiter J. VAN SANTEN, *De dialectiek van de crisis*; R. C. KWANT, *Het vertrekpunt van Marx' denken*; J. HOLLAK, *Marx en de huidige sociologische problematiek*; J. KRUIHOF, *Marx en de theorie van het collectieve gedrag*; G. HARMSSEN, *De Nederlandse bijdrage tot het Marxistisch denken*. Handelingen van het 28e Nederlandse Filologencongres. Groningen, 1964, S. 197 flg.

²⁾ *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford, 1941, S. 807.

³⁾ De geschiedenis van het Hellenisme, in J. H. WASZINK, W. C. VAN UNNIK en CH. DE BEUS, *Het oudste Christendom en de Antieke cultuur* I. Haarlem, 1951, S. 34.

⁴⁾ E. J. JONKERS, *Social and Economic Commentary on Cicero's De Imperio Cn. Pompei*. Leiden, 1959, S. 1. M. CARY, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.* London, 1951, S. 216, nennt seinen Tat eine „unexplicable caprice“ und macht dazu die Bemerkung: There is no evidence that Attalus needed to buy Roman help against dynastic rivals, foreign enemies, or the smouldering discontent of serf cultivators on the royal

Anfänglich war Pergamum nur ein kleiner Staat gewesen, aber die Könige, besonders Eumenes II, hatten die Partei Roms u.a. gegen Antiochus III von Syrien ergriffen und als Belohnung für die erwiesenen Dienste hatten die Römer ihnen grosse Stücke dessen Reiches zuerkannt, sodass die Attaliden seitdem über den grössten Teil Kleinasien herrschten. Ihr Reich umfasste zwar viele griechische Städte, aber der Grossgrundbesitz mit einem feudalen System und einer grossen unfreien und halb freien Landbevölkerung überherrschte und die Staatseinkünfte waren hauptsächlich agrarischer Art.

Für die unfreie und halb freie, schon viele Hunderte Jahre ausgebeutete, aber ihr Los geduldig tragende Landbevölkerung hatte dieser Herrscherwechsel weitgehende Folgen gehabt. Hatte es doch im agrarischen Orient schon viele Jahrhunderte eine breite Schlucht zwischen Reichen und Armen gegeben und waren die Letzten ausgebeutet worden. Aber unter ihren einheimischen Königen hatten sie immer noch wohl kleine Lücken finden können sich einer zu grossen Ausbeutung zu entziehen und war ihr Leben leidlich gewesen ¹⁾, sodass sie niemals in Aufstand gekommen waren. Die seleuzidischen Könige wollten die Hellenisierung ihres Reiches möglichst viel fördern. Sie erstrebten bewusst, nicht nur kraft militärischer sondern auch politik-kultureller Rücksichten die Gründung neuer sichselbst regierender Städte, die allerdings tatsächlich von den Königen abhängig waren. Die Basis ihres Reiches sollte ein Netzwerk von mehr oder weniger hellenisierten Städten sein. Mit dieser Politik waren Versuche zur Erhebung der armen einheimischen Landbevölkerung verbunden gewesen, sodass man die Seleuziden wohl „Bauernfreier“ genannt hat ²⁾. Obwohl diese Aufgabe ihnen zu schwer gewesen war und die Landbevölkerung im Vergleich zu dem Wohlstand der Städte arm und abhängig geblieben war, hatte diese dennoch ein leidliches Dasein führen können. Einen Aufstand gegen die fremden Könige hatte es nicht gegeben.

Die Attaliden jedoch hatten, gleich wie die Ptolemäer, eine ganz andere Regierungsauffassung. Als wären sie Kolonialisten ³⁾, so beuteten sie ihr Reich möglichst effizient aus und verstickten durch ihr perfektionistisches Verfahren fast ihre unteren Untertane, die Landbevölkerung. Hatten doch die autonomen hellenisierten Städte und die Grossgrundbesitzer — unter denen auch hellenisierte Eingeborene waren — einen *modus vivendi* mit den neuen fremden Königen gefunden und wälzten diese ruhig die ihnen auferlegten grösseren Bürden auf die arme Landbevölkerung ab, die dadurch in eine noch

domains; and it is reading Roman History backward to assume that at this stage the Romans coveted possession of his territory.

¹⁾ THIEL, *Gesch. v. h. Hell.* S. 26. Hierunter S. 390, Anm. 3.

²⁾ THIEL, S. 35.

³⁾ Hierunter S. 391, Anm. 2.

schlimmere Lage geriet und jetzt erst recht ergrimmt wurde auf das Regime der neuen fremden Überherrscher. Die Erbitterung wuchs noch durch die Differenz zwischen dem orientalischen Glauben der Landbevölkerung und der griechischen Kultur, obwohl diese auf religiösem Gebiete einem starken orientalisierenden Einfluss ausgesetzt war. Ausserdem war die Verehrung für die seleuzidischen Gott-Könige weggefallen, weil die Attaliden nicht als Götter verehrt wurden, was die Ehrfurcht für sie bei den neuen Untertanen wohl nicht gesteigert haben mag.

Unter der nicht oder kaum hellenisierten Landbevölkerung gab es also eine starke Gärung, die jetzt noch zunahm durch die Furcht vor den zu erwartenden Römern — abermals fremden neuen Überherrschern —, die sie vielleicht noch mehr ausbeuten würden. Für einen Aufstand fehlte noch ein Führer, aber auch dieser kam plötzlich auf!

Attalus III war ein natürlicher Sohn des Eumenes II, aber von diesem legalisiert worden und als Thronfolger auserwählt. Eumenes II hatte jedoch noch einen anderen natürlichen Sohn gehabt, Aristonicus, und für diesen muss es wohl eine sehr grosse Enttäuschung gewesen sein, dass er — obwohl nach griechischem Erbrechte zur Thronfolge berechtigt ¹⁾ — von seinem natürlichen Bruder bei der Thronfolge übergangen worden war. Darum beschloss er die Römer zu verhindern die Erbschaft anzutreten und selber den Thron zu besteigen. Dazu brauchte er Anhänger und er suchte Kontakt mit der unzufriedenen Landbevölkerung, indem er den Halbfreien Bodenverteilung und den Sklaven die Freiheit versprach ²⁾. Die Aufständischen nannte er *Heliopolitai* „Sonnenbürger“. Über diesen Namen ist schon viel geschrieben. GÜNTHER ³⁾, ebenso wie z.B. H. BERVE ⁴⁾, folgt bei der Erklärung dieses Namens R. VON POEHLMANN, dass sie sich als Bürger eines Heilstaates betrachtet haben, was schon von KARL BÜCHER ⁵⁾ und nach ihm vor fünfundzwanzig Jahren nochmals von H. BOLKESTEIN ⁶⁾ in Abrede gestellt wurde, die beide die folgende Erklärung geben: In Syrien zwischen dem Libanon und dem Antilibanon befand sich eine alte Stadt, die später ihren ursprünglichen Namen Baalbek wieder annahm ⁷⁾, aber in hellenistischer Zeit Heliopolis hiess. Der wichtigste und meist verehrte Gott war dort Hadad, von den Griechen *Zeus Heliopolites* genannt, der Schutzer der Armen und Bedrückten. Bei diesem

¹⁾ KARL BÜCHER, *Die Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*. Frankfurt, 1874, S. 104.

²⁾ Strabo, 649,38: ἡθροίσε διὰ ταχέων πλῆθος ἀπύρων τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ δούλων ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ κατακεκλημένων, οὓς Ἡλιοπολίτας ἐκάλεσε.

³⁾ S. 101.

⁴⁾ *Spätzeit des Griechentums*. Freiburg i/Br., 1960, S. 189 (*Herfsttij der Griekse beschaving*. Utrecht-Antwerpen, S. 212).

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.*, S. 105 flg.

⁶⁾ *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*. Utrecht, 1939, S. 323 flg. Vgl. BOLKESTEIN, *Sociale politiek* u.s.w. S. 224 flg.

⁷⁾ Dies zeigt den verborgenen Kraft der orientalischen Kultur.

Gott suchten altem orientalischem Gebrauch gemäss Aristonicus und die Seinigen Schutz und Hilfe, wodurch ihre Bewegung einen der griechischen und römischen Gesellschaft unbekannten religiösen Charakter bekam.

Die meisten griechischen Handelsstädte, in denen der Drang nach Selbstständigkeit oder die Furcht vor den Römern überwog, hielten sich abseitig ¹⁾. Bedenken wir, dass die Stadtregierung aus reichen Kaufleuten bestand die in einem Aufstand keine Vorteile erblickten.

Mit grösster Mühe wurde Aristonicus schliesslich besiegt, sodass 126 — also erst sieben Jahre später — die Umwandlung in eine römische Provinz statt finden konnte.

Jetzt kommt die Frage, ob man diesen Aufstand als einen Klassenkampf im marxistischen Sinne betrachten darf. Der Führer war jedenfalls kein sozial Ergriffener, wie z.B. Solon und Tiberius Gracchus ²⁾. Er war ein enttäuschter Thronpretendent und brauchte die Armen und Sklaven nur für seine eigenen ehrgeizigen Absichten, das Abwehren der Römer um selber König zu werden. Und die Sklaven und Armen liessen sich durch das Versprechen von Freiheit und Bodenverteilung gerne ins Schlepptau nehmen ³⁾. Ihre orientalische Duldsamkeit hatte sich in Aufständigkeit geändert. In den Übelständen, verursacht durch das Regime der Attaliden, fremder Ausbeuter mit ihrem, man möchte fast sagen, kolonialistischen System lag der Grund des Aufstandes. Es wurde ein Kampf der noch nicht oder kaum hellenisierten unteren Schichten des Ostens gegen die Ausbeutung und „Entorientalisierung“ ihres Landes von fremden Überherrschern. Die attalischen Überherrscher waren nicht mehr und die nicht oder kaum hellenisierte Bevölkerung wollte keine neuen fremden Überherrscher aus einer ganz anderen Welt, die sie vielleicht noch schlimmer behandeln würden. Ihr Sehnen richtete sich nicht auf Erwerbung politischer Rechte wie in Griechenland (Solon) und Rom (Patrizier-Plebeier) oder auf das Erlernen ihre politischen Rechte effizient zu benützen (Tib. Gracchus). Sie dachten nicht an allgemeines Wahlrecht oder Auszahlungen von Staatswegen ⁴⁾. Sie sehnten sich nur nach einer Verbesserung, einer Linderung ihrer elenden sozialen Lage, die sie allmählich erstickte.

Darum ist der Aufstand des Aristonicus kein Klassenkampf in marxistischem Sinne, sondern vielmehr ein Kampf gegen das Ausbeutungssystem ausländischer Überherrscher mit einer fremden Kultur.

Die obige Auffassung wird bestätigt durch die Geschichte des ersten mithradatischen Kriege.

¹⁾ ROSTOVITZEFF, *op. cit.*, S. 807.

²⁾ Neuerdings ist die soziale Ergriffenheit des Tib. Gracchus in die Abrede gestellt worden von D. C. EARL, *Tib. Gracchus. A Study in Politics*. Bruxelles, 1963.

³⁾ Hierunter S. 391, Anm. 4.

⁴⁾ ROSTOVITZEFF, *op. cit.*, S. 612 flg.

Rom hatte mit erstaunlicher Sachlichkeit die schwierige pergamenische Erbschaft angetreten¹⁾ und besonders durch das Vorgehen der *societates publicanorum* wurde die Lage der auf dem Lande arbeitenden Sklaven und Halbfreien wo möglich noch schlimmer. Die Grossgrundbesitzer hatten noch einigermassen eine Symbiose mit den infiltrierenden römischen Bürgern gefunden und versuchten in immer steigendem Masse die ihnen aufgelegten schwereren Bürden auf die Landbevölkerung abzuwälzen, deren soziale Unruhe dadurch immer grösser wurde. Die Landbevölkerung hatte ihre Kraft kennen gelernt! Abermals fehlte ein Führer.

Hier erblickte Mithradates VI Eupator von Pontus seine Gelegenheit! Seine Vorgänger waren Bundesgenossen der Römer gewesen und hatten sich mit Erfolg bestrebt ihr Gebiet in Kleinasien auf Kosten ihrer Nachbarstaaten auszubreiten. Die Römer hatten es sich nicht merken lassen, weil sie die Hilfe der pontischen Könige in ihren Kriegen brauchten. Ausserdem war das pontische Reich seiner Abgelegenheit wegen und weil die bithynische Küste und der thrasische Bosporus nicht zu Pontus gehörten, vorläufig nicht gefährlich. Später könnten die Römer immer noch mit diesem Reiche abrechnen, wie es auch mit Rhodus getan hatte²⁾. Und die Abrechnung kam bald!

Der Vater des Mithradates, Mithradates V Euergetes, wurde im Jahre 120 bei einer Palastrevolution ermordet. Ein Testament wurde gezeigt, in dem er seiner Gemahlin und seinen beiden noch jungen Söhnen — der älteste, Eupator, war damals zwölf Jahre alt — je ein Drittel seines Reiches vermacht hätte. Die Mörder wurden Vormund der beiden Jungen! TH. REINACH hegt sehr starken Verdacht, dass die ehrgeizige Königin hier eine grosse Rolle gespielt hat, wobei im Hintergrund der römische Senat³⁾.

Was die Vorgänger erworben hatten wurde den Nachfolgern von den Römern, in deren „Schutz“ die Königin völlig genommen war, wieder genommen. Der junge Mithradates fühlte sich von allen Seiten bedroht und ging in freiwilliges Exil. Nach siebenjährigen Vorbereitungen kehrte er zurück und bemächtigte sich mit Hilfe des Heeres der Regierung. Aber sein Reich war eine Macht dritten Ranges geworden, und sich schon lange der Unzuverlässigkeit der römischen Politik bewusst, wurde er noch mehr erbittert als die Römer seine Pläne sein Reich wieder zu vergrössern hintertrieben. Trotzdem liess er sich nicht von seiner Absicht ein panhellenisches Reich zu stiften abbringen und schlau suchte er vor allem die Sympathie der Griechen, mit deren Hilfe er das Heer verbessern wollte. Die nichtpontischen griechischen Städte am Pontus Euxinus und Bosporus, ausgenommen die bithynischen, stellten sich

¹⁾ T. FRANK, *An Economic History of Rome*. London, 1927, S. 144 flg.

²⁾ ROSTOVITZEFF, *op. cit.*, S. 771 flg.; BÜCHER, *op. cit.*, S. 102; W. W. TARN, *Hellenistic Civilisation*. London, 1947, S. 230.

³⁾ *Mithridates Eupator, roi de Pont*. Paris, 1890, S. 47.

bereitwillig unter seinen Schutz. Wurden sie doch von benachbarten einheimischen Stämmen fortwährend mit Einfällen bedroht. Mittels schönen Bauten in Athen und besonders auf Delos gelang es ihm hier festen Fuss zu fassen. Weiter war er für das ganze Griechenland ein sehr wichtiger Handelspartner! Auf Delos ist von ihm eine Statue gefunden ihn darstellend als einen *Neos Dionusos*, also als eine Art von Heiland, der die Bedrückten schützte¹⁾. Vergessen wir nicht, dass die Griechen im Stammland schwer unter dem römischen Joche seufzten und sich dort elende Verhältnisse entwickelt hatten, gleichend auf die im Osten und dass die uralten Naturreligionen des inneren Kleinasien bald auch in reinen Griechenstädten sich fanden, wo sie sich den verwandten Diensten des Dionysus und der Aphrodite anglichen und eifrig in der nationalen Weise verehrt wurden²⁾.

Weiter ist es nicht unmöglich, obwohl die Beweise fehlen, dass Mithradates im Stillen Kontakt mit den Unzufriedenen in der Provinz Asia gesucht hat.

Wie dem auch sei, als im Jahre 88 Rom von Bürgerkriegen und Parteikämpfen geschwächt worden war, fiel er plötzlich in die Provinz ein und wurde mit grösstem Enthusiasmus von der erdrückten Landbevölkerung und auch von vielen Griechen begrüsst³⁾. Perser von Abstammung, Griechen durch Bildung schien er der ideale Fürst um die Asiaten und Griechen zu einander zu bringen⁴⁾. Der Hass gegen vierzigjährige rücksichtslose Ausbeutung loderte auf. Zwei griechische Städte lieferten sogar die römischen Kommandanten aus⁵⁾. Doch scheint ein Teil der Griechen mehr aus Furcht als aus Sympathie so gehandelt zu haben, besonders die reichen Kaufleute. Die griechischen Städte wurden ihm später zuerst untreu⁶⁾.

Mithradates eroberte fast ganz Kleinasien. Aber im eroberten Lande waren sicher wohl hunderttausend römische Bürger, ein wahres Heer von Spionen und Verschwörern. Der römischen Mentalität wegen war eine Aussöhnung kaum möglich und auch konnten sie ihrer Zahl wegen nicht ausgetrieben oder überwacht werden. Ihre Liquidation war darum absolut notwendig. Die erhitzten Aufständischen, die in ihrem Hasse wohl alle Reichen ermorden wollten — fast alle Reichen waren doch römerfreundlich gewesen — wusste Mithradates so zu lenken, dass „nur“ die römischen Bürger getroffen wurden, und dies geschah im bekannten Program. Dieses brachte eine so grosse Beute

¹⁾ ROSTOVITZEFF, *op. cit.*, S. 833 flg.

²⁾ BÜCHER, *op. cit.*, S. 107.

³⁾ T. FRANK, *A History of Rome*. London, S. 237.

⁴⁾ REINACH, *op. cit.*, S. 148.

⁵⁾ In Adramyttion erklärte der Senat sich für Rom, aber der Stratege-Philosoph-Redner Diodorus liess mit Stütze des Volkes die Senatoren umbringen und lieferte die Stadt dem Mithradates aus. (Reinach, *op. cit.*, S. 125 flg.) Dieses Volk wird wohl „the cityrabble“ gewesen sein, das nach ROSTOVITZEFF (*op. cit.* 938 flg.) das bekannte Program vollzogen hat.

⁶⁾ REINACH, *op. cit.*, S. 183 flg.

ein, dass Mithradates die ersehnten sozialen Massregeln durchführen konnte: Die Sklaven bekamen die Freiheit — ein beträchtlicher Teil wurde Soldat um so Beute zu bekommen ¹⁾ —, den Schuldnern wurde die Hälfte ihrer Schulden erlassen, das Land der Reichen wurde verteilt. Seine Massregeln gleichen denen des Aristonicus. Andererseits aber versuchte er die reiche nichtrömische Bevölkerung mittels eines Steuererlasses an sich zu binden, freilich mit geringem Erfolg. Die Verluste, die sie von ihm erlitten hatten, waren zu gross gewesen.

Schliesslich verlor Mithradates den Kampf und jetzt kommt abermals die Frage, ob wir den ersten mithradatischen Krieg einen Klassenkampf nennen dürfen.

Noch weniger als Aristonicus war Mithradates ein sozial Ergriffener. Nur persönlicher Ehrgeiz und Rachsucht hatten ihn zum Kriege getrieben. Darum auch hatte er sich an die Spitze der Unzufriedenen in der Provinz Asia gestellt. Bei den Friedensverhandlungen liess er seine einheimischen kleinasiatischen Anhänger ruhig im Stiche. Wohl führte er die Griechen, die es nicht wagten dort zu bleiben mit sich in sein Reich ²⁾.

Der tiefste Grund bei seinen kleinasiatischen Anhängern — ausgenommen der Pöbel, der immer und überall nach Plünderungen begierig ist — war der glühende Hass gegen die sie rücksichtslos aussaugenden fremden Römer, die sie als wahre Kolonialisten erstickten. Nur dann könnte für sie eine bessere Lage verwirklicht werden, wenn diese fremden Kolonialisten eliminiert würden. Niemals haben sie daran gedacht den Boden, das wichtigste Produktionsmittel, zu Staatseigentum zu machen. Ebenso wenig haben sie gedacht an soziale Gesetze, die ihre Lage dauernd verbessern könnten, niemals auch an allgemeines Wahlrecht. Sie wollten nur ein eigenes Grundstück und die Freiheit. Um dies zu erreichen musste der fremden Überherrschaft ein Ende gemacht werden. Es war ein Kampf der armen nicht oder kaum hellenisierten einheimischen Landbevölkerung gegen den grausamen Kolonialismus der Römer.

Meine Auffassung wird verstärkt durch die Ereignisse im zweiten mithridatischen Kriege.

Die Römer hatten nach dem ersten mithradatischen Kriege nichts unterlassen um sich bei den Einwohnern der Provinz Asia noch mehr gehasst zu machen. Mithradates sehnte sich nach einem Revanchekrieg ³⁾. Dann starb plötzlich im Jahre 74 Nicomedes Eupator von Bithynien und hinterliess den Römern sein Reich. Wie bei Attalus III, kann man nach seinen Motiven nur raten. Vielleicht wollte er sein Reich gegen Mithradates schützen ⁴⁾. Wahrscheinlicher ist m.E. die Auffassung Reinachs, dass er ein willenloses Werkzeug

¹⁾ ROSTOVITZEFF, *op. cit.*, S. 942.

²⁾ REINACH, *op. cit.*, S. 205.

³⁾ REINACH, *op. cit.*, S. 318 flg.

⁴⁾ FRANK, *op. cit.*, S. 252.

der Römer gewesen ist, während er ausserdem immer seinen legitimen Sohn für einen aus Ehebruch Geborenen angesehen hat ¹⁾.

So wurde Rom der unmittelbare Nachbar des Mithradates, was für diesen unerträglich war. Darum brach er möglichst bald in das bithynische Reich ein und entfesselte so den Krieg. Abermals wurde er — nach einem glänzenden Siege — von dem noch nicht oder kaum hellenisierten Bevölkerung und dem griechischen Stadtpöbel, der sich nach Plünderungen sehnte, als einen Befreier begrüsst. Die Wohlhabenderen Griechen standen ihm zurückhaltender gegenüber u.m. weil er den vorigen Krieg nach anfänglichen grossen Erfolgen verloren hatte.

Das Ziel und die Motive des Mithradates und seiner Anhänger waren dieselben wie im vorigen Kriege: Vertreibung der verhassten römischen Ausbeuter. Mithradates wurde durch Ehrgeiz und Rachsucht getrieben, seine Anhänger durch Rachsucht und Sehnsucht nach einem lebenswerten Leben.

Der Aufstand des Aristonicus und die beiden mithradatischen Kriege waren allerdings Kämpfe der armen Bevölkerungsklassen gegen die Reichen, aber dennoch waren es keine Klassenkämpfe in marxistischem Sinne. Schon vor der Herrschaft der hellenistischen Könige hatte es einen scharfen Gegensatz zwischen den Reichen und den Armen gegeben, der niemals zu einem Aufstand geführt hatte. Jedoch die fremden griechischen und noch mehr die römischen Überherrscher, die selber reich waren und denen sich die Reichen anschlossen, mit ihrem perfektionistischen und kolonialistischen ²⁾ Ausbeutungssystem und ihrer ausländischen Kultur erregten Widerstände bei denjenigen, die von altersher arm gewesen waren und ihre orientalische Kultur noch ganz oder grösstenteils behalten hatten, und die jetzt ein unträgliches Leben ohne Aussicht auf Verbesserung führten ³⁾. Diese glaubten dass nur Ausrottung oder Vertreibung der fremden Überherrscher und der mit ihnen Befreundeten — in diesem Falle die Reichen — von selbst ein leidliches Leben bringen würde ⁴⁾.

Es waren Kämpfe des noch nicht hellenisierten Orients gegen den überherrschenden Okzident um sich dessen Griffe zu entreissen.

Den Helder

E. J. JONKERS

¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, S. 318 flg.

²⁾ Dieser Kolonialismus war allerdings verschieden von dem von MARX beschriebenen englischen Kolonialismus seiner Zeit. Vgl. *Das Kapital*, Kap. XXV: Die moderne Kolonisationstheorie, S. 791 flg. Weiter J. BÉRARD, *L'expansion et la colonisation grecques*. Paris, 1960, Chap. I: "La colonisation dans le monde moderne et dans le monde antique", S. 11 flg.

³⁾ Was jahrhundertlanges Sultanregiment nicht vermocht hatte in den Ländern, die seit der lydischen Herrschaft gewohnt waren, dass über sie verfügt wurde ohne sie, das brachte diese verderbliche Wirtschaftsweise zu wege, eine tiefgreifende Volksbewegung. BÜCHER, *op. cit.*, S. 106.

⁴⁾ Freilich muss es ein zündender Gedanke gewesen sein, den Aristonikos unter den stumpfsinnigen Massen warf, denen für den Ruf der Freiheit kein Ohr geschaffen schien. BÜCHER, *op. cit.*, S. 106.

AFKORTINGEN — ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologische Anzeiger		Social History of the Orient
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research	JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
AASyr	Annales Archéologiques de la Syrie	JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
AcOr	Acta Orientalia, Societates Orientales Danica, Norregica, Svecica	JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	MDAI	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung	MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft
AnSt	Anatolian Studies	MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
ArOr	Archiv Orientalní	OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
BA	Biblical Archaeologist	OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research	OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (Yediôt)	OrNS	Orientalia, Nova Series
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis	PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
CdEg	Chronique d'Egypte	RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
CRAI	Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres	RB	Revue Biblique
CRRAI	Compte Rendu de la ... Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale	RdEg	Revue d'Égyptologie
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual	RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal	RHA	Revue Hittite et Asianique
ILN	Illustrated London News	RQ	Revue de Qumran
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua	RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
JA	Journal Asiatique	TAD	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society	VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt	VT	Vetus Testamentum
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts	ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology	ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
JEOL	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux	ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and	ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
		ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins

CONTRIBUTORS are requested to use the above mentioned abbreviations. Manuscripts should be typewritten (notes on separate sheets), prepared according to the following rules: *double underlining* (=small cap roman): names of authors; *single underlining* (=italics): transcriptions of texts and words, titles of books and articles [(abbreviated) names of periodicals, series etc. *not* in italics]; *espaced*: transcriptions in Sumerian. E.g.: F. M. TH. DE LIAGRE BÖHL, *Babel und Bibel (I)*, JEOL 16 (1964), p. 103-118. Contributors receive 40 free offprints. Manuscripts should be addressed to: Editor "Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux", Noordeindsplein 4a, Leiden, The Netherlands.

